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OF
CHAMBA STATE

PART I

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MAP OF CHAMBA STATE.
NŪRPUR Former Hill State
PĀDAR Hill tract
BASŌHLĪ Capital of former Hill State
Fort
Base Headquarters of Pargana
Loj Ordinary Village
Present State Boundary
KAŞTAVĀR
BHADRAVĀH
ZANGSKAR
LAHU
BARĀ
BHANGĀL
NŪRPUR
KĀNGRA
BRAHMOR
BASŌHLĪ
PATHĀN-KŌT
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, NEW IMPERIAL SERIES, VOL. XXXVI.

Antiquities of Chamba State

BY

J. PH. VOGEL, Ph.D.,
SUPERINTENDENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, NORTHERN CIRCLE

PART I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

WITH 40 PLATES AND 30 TEXT-ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO

His Highness

Raja Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,

Chief of Chamba,

THIS EDITION OF THE EARLY RECORDS
OF HIS HOUSE AND STATE
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP AND GRATITUDE
BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

WHEN in the spring of 1902 my friend Mr. T. W. Arnold, then Professor of the Government College at Lahore, first drew my attention to Chambā as a possible field of antiquarian research, I little foresaw what a wealth of epigraphical records this petty Hill State would prove to contain. Sir A. Cunningham had visited Chambā in 1839 and devoted to it a few pages in two of his well-known volumes. In these he discussed the inscribed images of Meru-varman and the chief temples of the capital, gave a list of the Rājās and mentioned the existence at Chambā town of four inscriptions, three on copper-plates and one on a stone slab. Here, as elsewhere, the great pioneer of Indian archæology only demarcated the field, leaving to others its further exploration.

During the years 1902-1908 I have been able to devote part of the summer months to this pleasant task, and in the course of my tours have succeeded in recovering one hundred and thirty inscriptions. This result I attribute mainly to the vigorous support which from the outset my researches received from His Highness, Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Raja of Chambā, to whom, with the consent of the Government of India, this work is dedicated. The discovery of many an unknown inscription is due to the information supplied by the officials acting under his orders; and I may mention here, that His Highness has further shown his interest in the antiquities and past records of his State by founding a local Museum, which was opened on the 14th September, 1908, and has been rightly named after him.

The importance of these inscriptions for local history, it is hardly necessary to emphasize. They do not, it is true, help us to solve any of the great problems of Indian history, but they enable us to write a more detailed and more coherent story of Chambā than of any of the other Himalayan States, excluding Kaśmīr and Nepāl.

These records, moreover, throw side-lights on the history of neighbouring territories where ancient documents are less numerous and every scrap of information is of value. Even in places where historical documents do exist, their contents can often be supplemented from the Chambā inscriptions. This is particularly the case in Kaśmīr—the only country in India of which we possess a written history of the Hindu period. The famous Rājataraṅgiṇī is replete with information about the 11th and 12th centuries, the same epoch to which the bulk of the Chambā inscriptions belongs. Thus it happens that Kalhaṇa's chronicle imparts life to the stone slabs and metal plates of Chambā, whilst these contemporary documents, in their turn, confirm the trustworthiness of the great chronicler of Kaśmīr. Indeed, the excellent annotated edition of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, both in Sanskrit and English, by Dr. M. A. Stein, C.I.E., has been one of my chief guides in the course of my researches, and it has been no small satisfaction to me to continue in Chambā the work so splendidly inaugurated in Kaśmīr by that distinguished scholar.

There is one circumstance which lends to the antiquities of Chambā an interest far exceeding the narrow limits of local history. It is that the past to which they belong, is connected with the present by a tissue of unbroken threads. Whereas in

other and more exposed parts of India one dynasty was quickly ousted by another, new creeds and customs came to supplant the old ones, and successive waves of foreign invasion swept away all remembrance of the past, Chambā, engirdled by her snow-clad mountain-barriers, has, century after century, retained ancient traditions and institutions, which are only now gradually giving way to the irresistible onslaught of Western civilization.

The antiquarian can hardly refrain from deploring this change which, though beneficial in many respects, so often tends to destroy that what is sanctified by the ages. But instead of lamenting the unavoidable changes of time, he will do well in retaining at least a record of the vanishing past.

Chambā is still ruled by a descendant of the noble house whose scions fought in the civil wars of Kaśmīr side by side with Harṣa and Sussala. He still resides in the same "glorious Champā" whence his ancestors issued their copper charters, and where his subjects still hail him with the classical greeting "Jai Deo!" Up to the present day the people of Chambā worship in the temples founded by Sāhilla-varman in the 10th century, and at Brahmor, the ancient capital Brahmapura, the silent brazen idols are still enshrined in their wonderful wood-carved fanes in which Meru-varman piously placed them twelve centuries ago. The Rāṇās—those "barons of the Hills," whose former importance was first revealed by the eulogies of Baijnāth, are still met with in Chambā, often, it is true, reduced to the state of poor peasants, but still clinging to their ancient title and to the ruins of their ancestral castles. The traveller too in the valleys of Chambā is still received after his day's march by an official whose title and presumably whose duties also have remained unchanged through the lapse of ages, though they have passed into oblivion in every other part of India.

There are among our inscriptions some which are distinguished by no small degree of literary ability such as the eulogies of Sarāhaṇ, Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī and Mūl-Kihār. But it must be admitted that the great majority do not attain a high standard of scholarship, and we shall not be far wrong in assuming that, whatever erudition they display, was borrowed from the neighbouring seat of Sanskrit learning in Kaśmīr. The skilful poet of the Baijnāth eulogy calls himself the son of a judge (*pramātar*) from that country, and it was perhaps the civil wars of Kalhaṇa's days which compelled many a pandit to seek refuge with the rulers of the adjoining Hill States.

Though inferior in literary interest, the Chambā inscriptions are highly important from a palæographical point of view; for they form an uninterrupted series of Śāradā records ranging from the time when this script was evolved out of the Western Gupta alphabet down to the Muhammadan period, when it developed into Gurmukhī, Ṭākarī, and other modern writings. In the course of the present work I shall endeavour to show that Śāradā was once extensively used both in the Plains and the Hills of the Panjāb, and that, though this character was remarkably conservative, its forms were by no means so immutable as the best authorities on Indian palæography have supposed. The Chambā records display a slow, but distinct development, and I feel confident that they will supply a reliable base for establishing the approximate date for any document written in this script.

It is true that the chronology of the Chambā epigraphs is attended with very great difficulty owing to the almost exclusive use of the Lokakāla era. I have discussed the various thorny questions bearing on this subject in a special chapter of my introduction, but offer my conclusions with great diffidence, except where they could be checked by so good an authority as the late Professor F. Kielhorn. His assistance—welcome always both for its own sake as for the kindness with which it was offered—I wish here gratefully to acknowledge.

Although in several cases I have not succeeded in fixing the precise date of the inscriptions here edited, it has nearly always been possible to arrive at approximate dates and to establish the order in which they succeed each other. In this I have derived great benefit from the Chambā *Vaṁśāvalī* or Genealogical Roll which His Highness has allowed me to edit in the present volume. This roll furnishes us with a fairly complete list of the rulers of Chambā from about A.D. 700 and its historical accuracy can be checked by the aid of the inscriptions. There is, therefore, much reason to assume that the ruling family of Chambā has indeed held sway in the Rāvī valley for more than twelve centuries and may boast of an antiquity equalled by few reigning houses in India and none in Europe.[1]

A few words must be added on the subject of transliteration. Each system has its defects and the use of diacritical marks gives transcribed texts *per se* an unpleasant look of artificiality and clumsiness. Whereas the advocates of one system reproach their opponents with the use of such "monstra" as *Kṛṣṇa*, the latter may as rightly object to ungainly forms like *Lichchhavi*. I have, therefore, chosen to reproduce the texts in Nāgarī, which is preferred to transcripts in Roman by most European and all Indian Sanskritists. These texts, thus made accessible to indigenous scholars, will, it is hoped, stimulate their interest in the history of their own country.

In the introductory portions, where transliteration was unavoidable, I have followed the international system adopted by the Oriental Congress and by most Oriental Societies. At the time when the present work was written, this system was still followed in publications of the Archæological Survey, though recently it has been replaced by the Anglo-Indian system. Only in the name *Chambā* I have retained the usual spelling; in all other Indian words the *c* represents the non-aspirated hard palatal and the *ch* the aspirata.

In conclusion, I wish to give expression to my sincere gratitude for the manifold assistance received both in the discovery and in the study of the inscriptions of Chambā. The names of those to whom my thanks are due will be found mentioned in their proper places. Here I wish first of all to give expression to my gratitude for the cordial support which this publication has received throughout from Mr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., Director General of Archæology in India. Particularly, I am indebted to Dr. J. Hutchison of the Church of Scotland Mission, who himself a resident of Chambā for the last thirty years, has ever been ready to supplement the evidence of the ancient records by his extensive knowledge of local customs, traditions

[1] The oldest reigning houses of Germany can trace their ancestry to the beginning of the 10th century of our era, such as that of Wittelsbach in Bavaria, that of Brabant in Hesse, and that of Wettin in Saxony. This does not, however, mean that from that date they have been the ruling dynasties of these countries.

and history. He has, moreover, rendered me a great service in reading through both the manuscript and the proofs of the present work. For the Tibetan inscriptions included in this work I was able to depend on so good an authority as the Rev. A. H. Francke of the Moravian Mission.

I have much pleasure also in recording the great help which has been rendered to me by Pandit Thakur Das of Chambā whose services His Highness has kindly placed at my disposal whenever I visited his State. The Pandit's local knowledge, modesty and love for his native hills made him an ever-interesting and pleasant companion on my tours. He is one of the very few representatives of traditional Sanskrit learning in Chambā; yet the study of the *śāstras* has by no means closed his eye to the interests of "the World of the living." To the Pandits Daya Ram Sahni and Hirananda of the Archæological Department I owe some clever conjectures and useful references. Pandit Daya Ram has also assisted me in the tedious task of correcting the Vaṁśāvalī and in revising the proofs.

Nor must I omit to mention the name of my photographer, Munshi Ghulam Nabi, who has accompanied me on many a hard march along the mountain roads of Chambā. He has taken all the photographs used to illustrate the present volume and prepared the estampages of the inscriptions here reproduced. The illustrations will testify to the quality of his work. The reproduction was entrusted to Messrs. W. Griggs & Sons, Peckham, London, and carried out with the care for which their establishment is rightly renowned.

The labour, both physical and mental, bestowed on collecting and deciphering these epigraphs, has been great. But "the labour we delight in physics pain." And truly delightful has been the task of revealing the antiquarian treasures hidden in that glorious mountain region which a popular adage so rightly describes as *Chambā achambā* "Chambā the Charming."

J. Ph. VOGEL.

Lahore;
The 1st April 1910.

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PLATES BY MESSRS. W. GRIGGS AND SONS, LONDON.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A. S. R.	Archæological Survey Report.
A. R. A. S.	Annual Report, Archæological Survey.
Br. S.	Bṛhad-saṁhitā.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
J. A. S. B.	Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. I. A.	Journal of Indian Art and Industry.
J. R. A. S.	Journal, Royal Asiatic Society.
Mark. P.	Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
Mṛcch.	Mṛcchakaṭikā (*See* Śūdraka).
N. P. W.	Böhtlingk (O.), Sanskrit Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung. St. Petersburg, 1879-89.
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Fig. 1. Sēcu Nālā.

INTRODUCTION.

Chapter I.—ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

(Plates I and V.)

Only three quarters of a century ago Chambā State was a *terra incognita*. The traveller, George Forster,[1] who, on his journey through the Panjāb Hills by way of Nūrpur, Basōhḷī and Jammū in 1783, almost skirted the western boundary of Chambā, refers to it as "the Chambay country a mountainous territory of large extent." This seems to be the first mention of the State by a European. William Moorcroft,[2] in describing the course of the Rāvī, is more detailed. But he only reproduces native accounts which had reached him on his march through Kāṅgṛā in July 1820. Hence his information is confused and inaccurate. He notes that the Rāvī in its upper course is called Raiva. It is curious that he takes the river of Maṇimahēs and Haṛsar—*i.e.*, the Buḍhaḷ—as the principal source. What is now considered the main river, he calls "the Siang from Bhaunso" (*i.e.* Bārā Bhaṇsō). He states correctly that the two branches meet at Ulāns; but reverses the relative position of this place and Chambā. For the rest, the situation of Chambā at the junction of the Rāvī and the Sāvā or Sāl is correctly described.

[1] *Journey*, Vol. I, p. 234; 2nd ed., p 270.
[2] *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 196.

He then makes the Tavī a tributary of the Rāvī, and the Uj a tributary of the Tavī, whereas in reality the Tavī (on which Jammū is situated) flows into the Cināb and the Uj into the Rāvī. The confusion is probably due to the fact that the Tavī and the Uj take their rise from the same mountain not far from Kuṇḍ Kaplās. Koth Belota, mentioned by Moorcroft as the place from which the Uj takes its origin, is probably the village Belota on the left bank of the upper Uj.

We have reason to regret that the distinguished traveller did not accept the invitation of the Rānī of Chambā[1] who was indisposed and wanted his medical advice. He was apparently deterred by the reports[2] about the difficulty of the road thither, "it being necessary in many places to drag men and baggage by ropes up the scarps of the rock." Had Moorcroft personally visited Chambā, his account would no doubt have been far more accurate and detailed.

The first European who visited Chambā was Vigne.[3] His itinerary, though entertaining and full of interest, does not possess the scholarly thoroughness of Moorcroft. He is less accurate in the rendering of proper names and indulges in phantastical etymologies. Vigne visited Chambā in February 1839, in the reign of Rājā Caṛhat Siṅgh He came from Basōhlī and left again for Nūrpur by the Cuārī Pass. He gives a good account of the capital, but did not visit the interior of the State.

It was only after the annexation of the Panjāb that Chambā became better known to Europeans, especially as the abundance of game attracted many sportsmen. The antiquarian remains of Chambā were first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who visited Chambā for the first time in A.D. 1839.[4] He extended his tour to the Upper Rāvī Valley and was the first to describe the ancient capital, Brahmor, and its temples.

Mountain System.

Chambā State[5] is situated in the Western Himālaya between north latitude 32° 11′ 30″ and 33° 13′ 6″ and east longitude 75° 49′ and 77° 3′. The superficial area of the State is 3,216 square miles. This is somewhat more than that of the Grand-duchy of Hesse (2,968) and somewhat less than that of the Principality of Montenegro (c. 3,630). But whereas the population of these two countries amounts to 1,209,175, and c. 230,000 (or 407·4 and 63·3 per square mile) respectively, that of Chambā is only 127,834 or 40·9 to the square mile. The mountainous nature of the country accounts for the scantiness of the population.

Chambā is traversed by three well-defined snowy ranges which run from south-east to north-west, nearly parallel to one another and at a distance of thirty to forty miles. The outer range is the Dhaulā Dhār (Skr. **Dhavala-dhārā*, "the white Crest") which for 36 miles forms the southern boundary of Chambā territory. Within the State its peaks rise to a height of 15,000′ to 18,000′. Its geological

[1] The Rānī in question must have been Rānī Sārdā, the queen-mother and regent during the minority of Rājā Caṛhat Siṅgh (1808-1844).

[2] *Travels*, Vol. I., p. 152.

[3] *Travels*, Vol. I., p. 150.

[4] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, XIV, p. 120 and *Ladak*, p. 77. He descended the Rāvī Valley after having been engaged in a survey of Lahul and in marking the boundaries between Chambā and Kuḷū.

[5] In the following sketch of the geography of Chambā I have followed the *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 1-14.

continuation across the Rāvī is the Chattar Dhār, in Jammū territory. The second range is the Pīr Pan̲tsāl Range which runs through Chambā territory for more than 60 miles and divides the State into two sections of unequal size. Its mean elevation cannot be less than 17,000′, and the passes range from 14,328′ to 18,000′, which is about double the height of the Great St. Bernard Pass (8,110′). The Dāganī Dhār, a branch of this range, runs westwards along the northern boundary of the State. It is connected with the Chattar Dhār by a short cross range in which are the Chattar Dhār and Padrī Passes. The third range, called the Zaṅgskar Range—a section of the Western Himālaya—closes in the Chambā State along its northern border. Its mean altitude reaches 18,000′, and some of its peaks rise to 20,000′ which is more than double the height of Monte Corno, the highest peak of the Apennines (9,543′).

River System.

These three mountain-barriers enclose two regions of a widely different character. That between the Dhaulā Dhār and the Pīr Pan̲tsāl constitutes the drainage area of the Rāvī; that between the Pīr Pan̲tsāl and the Zaṅgskar Range comprises the valley of the Candrabhāgā or Cīnāb. Besides, the State includes a hill-tract situated between the Dhaulā Dhār and a low range which runs parallel with it to the south, known as the Hāthī Dhār or Elephant Range. This area is watered by the Cakkī and the Dēhḷ (map Dairh), tributaries of the Biās, and therefore belongs to the drainage area of that river.

Political Division; *Wazārats*.

The political division of Chambā is entirely determined by the mountain-system. The State is divided into five provinces or *wazārats*, of which three belong to the Rāvī valley and one to that of the Candrabhāgā; while the fifth is the outlying territory draining into the Biās. The nucleus of the State is the Brahmor *wazārat*—also called Gadēran or the country of the Gaddīs—comprising the valleys of the upper Rāvī and its tributaries, the Buḍhaḷ and the Tundēhn. It is named after the ancient capital of Brahmor situated on the left bank of the Buḍhaḷ. The lower portion of the Rāvī valley, which was the first province added to the original Brahmor State (presumably in the first half of the 10th century), comprises the present capital and may, therefore, conveniently be called the Chambā *wazārat*. The Brahmor and Chambā *wazārats* are separated by the Tundāh Range; the Chambā and Curāh *wazārats* by the Sāhō Range, which comes to an end in the fork at the junction of the Rāvī and Syūhl (Siul). The basin of the Syūhl and its tributaries forms the north-western province, known as Curāh. This name occurs as Caturāha in a copper-plate grant of Rājā Bhoṭa-varman, who ruled in the first half of the 15th century.[1]

An intermediate form which is still occasionally used is Caurāh. The name is commonly explained as a compound of Sanskrit *catur* and Persian *rāh*. It may, however, be doubted whether, in the appellation of a remote valley in the inner Himālaya, we are to assume the occurrence of a Persian word which is strange to the local dialect. It is, moreover, far from clear which four

[1] Cf. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII (1888), p. 10, and *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 82.

roads may be taken as being at the root of the supposed derivation. It seems more probable that the ancient name was pure Sanskrit. The parallel, Bhadravāh from Bhadrāvakāśa, perhaps justifies us in assuming an original form, *Caturāśā.[1]

So much is certain that Curāh must have become included in Chambā State at an earlier date than the more remote Pāṅgī, *i.e.*, before the 12th century. It may be inferred from some of our inscriptions that, in the 11th and 12th centuries, Curāh was alternately ruled by the Rājās of Chambā and by those of the neighbouring hill-state of Balor (Skr. Vallāpura). Possibly it belonged to the latter State previous to the foundation of Chambā town.

The *wazārat* of the Candrabhāgā valley comprises Pāṅgī and Lahul. These are about equal in size and are separated by a lofty spur from the Zaṅgskar Range, called the Ghōṛ Dhār (map Gurdhar), which runs in a south-westerly direction between the Sēcu and Maiyār nālās. Pāṅgī, the lower portion of the valley, is mentioned in two inscriptions under the name of Pāṅgatī. Epigraphical evidence shows that it belonged to Chambā in the 12th century; but the designation of local officials in a record of the same period seems to indicate that at an earlier date it was ruled by some Tibetan power. The *wazārat* of Lahul has not yielded a single inscription in which a Rājā of Chambā is mentioned as overlord of the province.[2] The earliest proof of Chambā suzerainty over part of Lahul is supplied by the name Udaipur by which Mirkulā is indicated and which is ascribed to Rājā Udai Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1690-1720). There is reason to assume that at an earlier period it belonged to the Gyalpos of Ladakh who at one time extended their dominion over British Lahul and Kuḷū. Moorcroft notes that four villages, Barkalanak (?) and three others, which he passed on his way from Sisu to Tandi, paid rent to the State of Ladak, though acknowledging military fealty to the Rāj of Kuḷū.[3]

The name Lahul has been explained as a derivation of Lho-yul, meaning "South-land." But Mr. Francke informs me that this etymology is improbable, because in Tibetan sources Lahul is always indicated by the name of dGar-ża. Chambā-Lahul is locally known as Suāl, but in the Gār[4] dialect it is called Re-'phags. The whole tract along the Candrabhāgā from Tandi to Tindi is called Manchad.

The area between the Dhaulā Dhār and Hāthī Dhār, including a small portion of the Rāvī valley, forms the Bhaṭṭi[5] *wazārat*. Geographically, nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kāṅgṛā valley. Under what circumstances it became attached to Chambā State it is impossible to say. So much is certain that it formed part of Chambā in the days of Rājā Saṁgrāma-varman who granted land in the Hubār (map Ubaur) *pargaṇā* to his *purohita* in the Śāstra year 22 (A.D. 1446), four years after the death of his father, Bhoṭa-varman.

[1] The word *corāh* occurs as a generic name with the meaning "cross-way, place where four roads meet" in a copper-plate grant (No. XIV) of Ānanda-varman, dated Śaka 1403, Śāstra 57, Kārttika *śu. ti.* 12 (3rd November A.D. 1481).

[2] Mr. Francke has found traditions which point to an earlier occupation of part of Manchad (left bank) by the Chambā Rājās, but they have not yet been confirmed by any epigraphical record. The Rāṇās of Gus near the junction of the Candrā and Bhāgā are said to have been in possession of a copper-plate granted by a Rājā of Chambā.

[3] *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 94. Harcourt, *Kooloo*, pp. 123 ff. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. 1, p. 198.

[4] Gār is the Bhāgā valley from Tandi to Kolong, comprising three *Kōṭhīs*.

[5] The form Bhaṭṭiyāt with Persian plural ending has lately been introduced in official documents.

Saṁgrāma's grandson, Gaṇeśa-varman, also granted lands in the Hubār *parganā* in *saṁvat* 34 (A.D. 1558) and built in its south-eastern corner a fortlet named after him Gaṇēs Gaṛh (marked "Fort" on survey map). The Bhaṭṭi *wazārat* is probably named after the Bhaṭṭi caste. It is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chambā army.

Parganās.

The *wazārats* of Chambā State are subdivided into *parganās*, which vary considerably in extent. It is reputed that their original number amounted to eighty-four, but at the present time there are only fifty-two. This is partly due to loss of territory once included in Chambā State, and partly to the amalgamation of different *parganās* since A.D. 1863. It appears that in the pre-Muhammadan period the State was divided into districts, called *maṇḍala* (circle) in the Sanskrit title-deeds of the 10th and 11th centuries. The names of some of these *maṇḍalas* have been preserved in the present *parganās*, and as the latter are mostly defined by natural boundaries, we may assume that their area also agrees with that of the ancient districts. In describing the course of the main rivers of Chambā, I shall note the *parganās* and the places of archæological interest which they contain.

River System. The Rāvī.

The Rāvī, the central one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, is essentially the main stream of Chambā. Its ancient name, Irāvatī, ("refreshing") is found in Sanskrit literature.[1] The Rāvī became known to Alexander's historians under the name of Hydraōtēs, evidently derived from Sanskrit *Irāvatī* under the influence of the Greek *hudōr*. The *Rhouadis* of Ptolemy presupposes a later Indian form **Rāuḍī*, intermediate between *Irāvatī*, and the modern *Rāvī*.[2] Biruni[3] speaks of the Irāva. He says that "the river Irāva is joined by the river Kaj which rises in Nagarkot in the mountains of Bhātul." In his table of Indian rivers he calls it Irāvatī. By "the river Kaj" he probably means the Gaj which, however, is in reality a tributary of the Biās. In Chambā the Rāvī is known by three different names. In the upper valley it is called *Rauṛī*, in the central portion *Ravvā*, and in the lower part it is known by the name *Rāvī* which it bears in the plains. Thus we meet with the intermediate stages through which the original name has become changed to its modern form. In the *Vaṁśāvalī* the river is regularly referred to by its Sanskrit name *Irāvatī*. In some of the later copper-plates[4] it is called *Rayva*, but usually it is simply indicated as *ṇei* (Skr. *nadī*) "the river."

The main source of the Rāvī lies outside Chambā territory in the mountain tract known as Baṛā Bhaṅgāl, which once formed part of the principality, Bhaṅgāl, and is now included in the Kāṅgṛā district. After entering Chambā, the river flows in a narrow gorge (plate III) through the *parganās* of Bārā Bhaṇsō (map Bara Banso), Trēhṭā (map Traita) and Caṇhotā (map Chanota). It is said that

[1] In the *Ṛgveda* (VII, 18; VIII, 63, 15; X, 75) the Rāvī is mentioned under the name of Paruṣṇī. *Cf.* Thomas, *The rivers of the Vedas. J. R. A. S.* Vol. XV, N. S. p. 73. I do not know whether there is any good reason for identifying the Paruṣṇī with the Rāvī. If we may be allowed to regard the *Marudvṛdhā* as the Rāvī, the second member of that name might be found in Buḍhal.

[2] M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 23, 27 and 32. Strabo has the form *Hyarōtis*.

[3] *India*, Vol. I., pp. 206, 259 and 260.

[4] Copper-plates of Gaṇeśa-varman dated *saṁvat* 97 (A.D. 1531) l. 8; No. XXVIII of Pratāp Siṅgh dated Śāstra 55, Vikrama 1636 (A.D. 1579) l. 19 and No. XXXVI of Lalabhadra dated Śāstra 68, Vikrama 1649 (A.D. 1592) l. 9.

Dyōl (map Deole) used to form a fourth district between Bārā Bhaṇsō and Trēhṭā. The village of that name was until lately in possession of a State *kōṭhī* such as is found at the head-quarters of each *pargaṇā*. It was ruined in the earthquake of 4th April 1905. Over its entrance there was an inscription of Rājā Udai Singh (A.D. 1690-1720) which has now been placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A. 30). Dyōl is mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (śl. 49) as the birth-place of Mūṣaṇa-varman under the form *Devalā*, perhaps Sanskrit *devālaya* meaning "temple." Near the village a cave is shown, where the happy event is said to have taken place.

The name *Trēhṭā* is derived from Sanskrit *Trighaṭṭaka*,[1] by which name the district is referred to in a copper-plate inscription of Soma-varman of the 10th century. The name points to the existence of three passes (Skr. *ghaṭṭa*, Hindī *ghāṭ*). There are in reality three roads leading from this part of the Rāvī valley across the Dhaulā Dhār into Kāṅgṛā. Their names are Alāke-dā-ghāṭ, Surai-dā-ghāṭ and Sarālī-dā-ghāṭ. The one first mentioned leads to Bhāgsu-Dharmsālā, the other two to Pālampur. It will be noticed that they are still indicated by the name *ghāṭ*.[2] The village of Kulait (map Kolait) situated in the Trēhṭā *pargaṇā*, 2½ miles below Dyōl, occurs in the same inscription under the name of Kulika-goṣṭha. This name indicates that it was a settlement or station (Skr. *goṣṭha*) of Kulikas, a tribe mentioned in the copper-plate grants together with the Khaśas. In Chambā the word *gōṭh*, derived from Sanskrit *goṣṭha*, is particularly applied to a settlement of shepherds.

A third inscription in the upper Rāvī valley is found on a small partly ruined *Śivālaya* (fig. 28) at Ghumsāl near Suṭkar, the ancient head-quarters of the Trēhṭā *pargaṇā*. The present head-quarters of the district is Tiārī on the right bank of the Rāvī. The *kōṭhīs* both of Suṭkar and Tiārī were ruined in the great earthquake.

Near Ulānsa (map Huḷaṇs) the Rāvī is joined by two fair-sized tributaries, the Buḍhaḷ (Budhil) and the Tundhēn (Tundāhen). The Buḍhaḷ takes its rise near the Kukti Pass and flows past Brahmor, the ancient capital, which is situated on its left bank. The Tundēhn takes its rise from the Kālī-chō Pass[3] and, after flowing through the Tundāh valley, joins the Rāvī at a point a little lower down than the Buḍhaḷ. The confluence of the Rāvī and the Buḍhaḷ, known by the name of Khaṛā-mukh (Skr. *Ṣaḍ-mukha* ?) is held sacred as a *tīrtha*. It is described in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (verse 42) as the scene of the asceticism of the father of Meru-varman, the famous ruler of Brahmor. Whether the word *Budha* in the same passage really represents the ancient designation of the Buḍhaḷ, seems doubtful, as it does not account for the *ḷ* at the end of the modern name.

The valleys of the Buḍhaḷ and Tundēhn constitute the Brahmor *pargaṇā* which far exceeds the average size of such divisions. It was once ruled by an official called *amīn*, and is sub-divided into *drubiālīs*, each placed under its own *drubiāl* or revenue-officer. It is noteworthy that this arrangement exists only in the Brahmor district which points to its having formed a distinct unit.

[1] The Pehoa inscription of the horse-dealers of the Harṣa-saṁvat 276 (A.D. 882) ll. 6 and 11 makes mention of a locality of the name of Trāighāṭaka, but this must be a different place. Trēhṭā would indeed be a most unsuitable field of business for a horse-dealer, as there is not a single road practicable for horses. The Pehoa inscription is preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 22). Cf. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 184 ff.

[2] *Kangra Settlement Report*, p. VI (App.).

[3] *Kālī-chō* means "Waterfall of Kālī."

Brahmor, the ancient Capital.

PLATE II.

Brahmor is mentioned under the name *Brahmapura* in two inscriptions of the 10th century. From this name, which means either "Town of Brahmā" or "Town of the Brāhmaṇs," it is evident that originally it was applied to the ancient capital and in the second place to the principality. Varāhamihira mentions Brahmapura among the countries of the north-eastern region along with Kīra, Kāśmīra, Abhisāra, Darada, Kulūta, Dārva, Ḍāmara and others. It is very likely that here the ancient principality on the Upper Rāvī is meant. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* also the Brahmapurakas are mentioned in the same connection.[1]

Kalhaṇa, in his account of Sussala's campaign against the chiefs of the Cīnāb and Rāvī valleys, who had supported the pretender Bhikṣācara, praises the king, because he "piously preserved in the enemy's land Brahmapurī[2] and its temples, and thus earned the original merit of these foundations." "It seems possible that here also there is a reference to Brahmor, the ancient capital on the Rāvī, as Jāsaṭa of Chambā was one of the princes who had espoused Bhikṣācara's cause. But the passage is too vague to allow us to speak with certainty.

Fig. 2. Temple of Lakṣaṇā Devī.

At present Brahmor is only a village (plate II), but its pristine glory is still attested by four brass idols, three of which bear inscriptions recording their erection by Meru-varman who must have lived about A.D. 700 (plates VII-IX). That of Lakṣaṇā Devī is enshrined in a temple adorned with profuse wood-carvings which are presumably contemporaneous with the image. The two stone temples of

[1] *Br. S.* XIV, 29-30 quoted by Beruni, *India*, Vol. I, p. 303, *Mark. P.* 55, 48-53.

[2] *Rājat.* VIII, 628 ; transl. Stein Vol. II, p. 50. The word *brahmapurī* is used elsewhere (VIII, 2421 and 23) as a generic name denoting some pious foundation.

Maṇimahēs and Narsiṅgh (figs. 16 and 17) are probably of a later date. The former must have replaced an older shrine, which is referred to in the inscription on the brazen bull of Meru-varman placed in front of the building. The somewhat smaller *śikhara* temple of Narsiṅgh contains the brass image of that deity, erected by a queen, Tribhubana-rekhā, and endowed by Yugākara-varman, the son of Sāhilla-varman, presumably in the 10th century. This temple was seriously damaged in the earthquake of 4th April 1905. Most of the small *liṅga* shrines, scattered among the three main temples, collapsed on the same occasion. The State *kōṭhī* ascribed to Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh (A.D. 1641-1664) was partly ruined, but most of the woodcarvings have been placed in the Chambā Museum. (Cat. Nos. F, 1—6).

A copper-plate grant (No. LXI, l.15) of Rājā Balabhadra, dated Vikrama 1691, Śāstra 10 (A.D. 1634), contains the name *Brahmor*, but the context does not bear out which locality is indicated.[1]

Fig. 3. Temple of Śakti Devī.

The ancient Brahmor State, represented by the *wazārat* of that name, included, besides the districts already mentioned, the following *parganās* situated on both sides of the river below its junction with the Budhal :—Raṇhūṁ-kōṭhī (map Koti), Pyuhrā (map Piura) on the left bank,[2] and Belj (map Bailj), Guṁ (map Guh) and Lilh (map Lil) on the right bank. The latter three *parganās* now form one district. The village of Chatrāṛhī of the Pyuhrā *parganā* possesses a famous Dēvī temple, founded by Meru-varman about A.D. 700. At Guṁ on the opposite bank an

[1] The passage reads : *Brahmor dī ghālī* (?) *pice bṛt Śrī-Rāje* [*dittā*].

[2] The two villages Lēc(ā)-Jhikhī and Lēc(ā)-Uparlī (*i.e.* Lower and Upper Lēc), though situated on the right bank, belong to the Pyuhrā *parganā*.

inscription is found of a feudatory of the same prince. It mentions *Śivapura*, the ancient name of the place.

Travelling along the course of the river as far as Chambā Town, we meet with the following *pargaṇās*:—On the right bank Kaḷandrā (map Kalander), Sāmbarā (map Samra) and Pañjilā; on the left bank Basu, Bakāṇ, Mehlā (map Maila), Bharimhā (map Baraia), and Kaṛēṛ (map Karair). The village of Tur in the Basu *pargaṇā* has yielded no less than four ancient inscriptions. In the 10th century it was the seat of a Rāṇā who owed allegiance to the Rājā of Chambā. From one of the inscriptions (No. 17) it appears that the ancient name of the place was Makuta which perhaps is the same as the *Makuṭa-kōṭa* mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvaḷī* (verse 78).

Pañjilā occurs in a title-deed of the 11th century (No. 25) as the Pānthila *maṇḍala* and will be referred to subsequently.

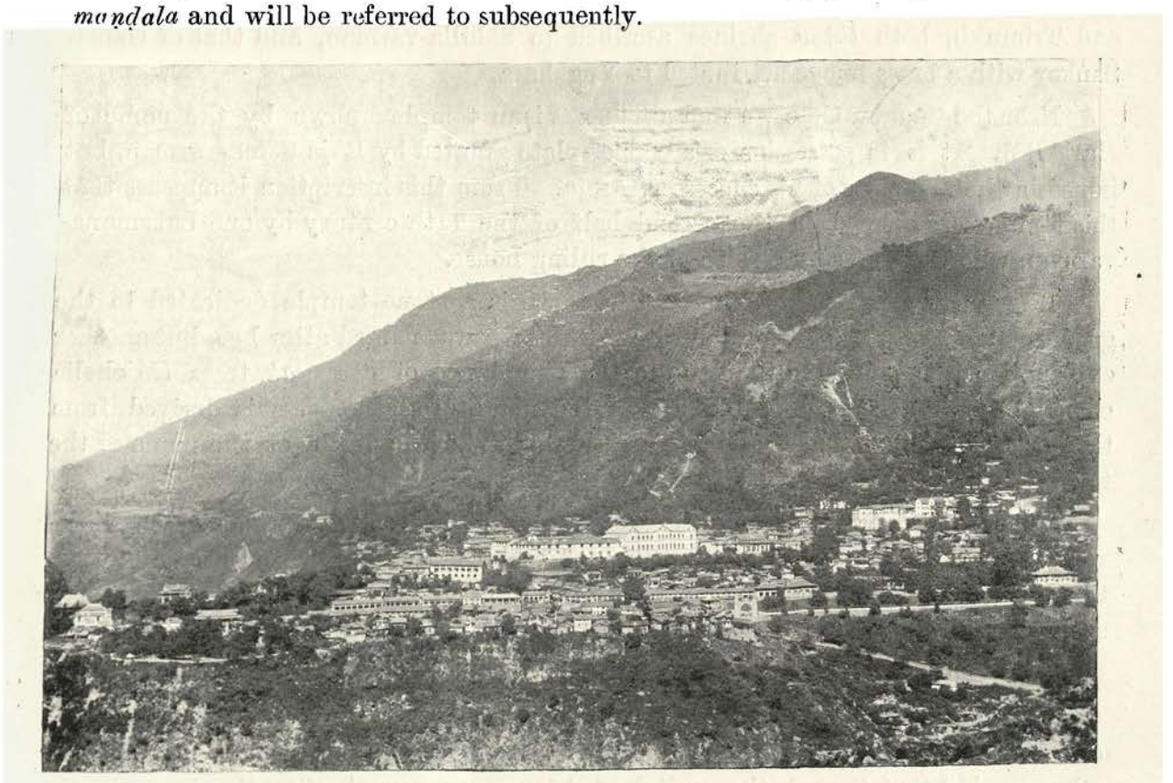

Fig. 4. Chambā Town from Maṅglā.

Chambā Town is picturesquely situated on a plateau above the junction of the Rāvī and the Sāl or Sāhō. It is built round a rectangular green which here, as elsewhere in the Panjāb Hills, is indicated by the name *caugān*.[1] In 1839 Vigne

[1] The Persian word *čaugān* (چوگان) is the name by which the game of polo was known not only in Persia itself but also in Muhammadan India. It was derived from Pehlevi *čōbgān* and its proper meaning is a polo-stick, the polo-ground being indicated in Persia by the well-known word *maidān*. We may, however, assume that in the Panjāb Hills the word *čaugān* was also applied to the green on which the game was played, which would account for the use of the word in the present instance. The word *polo* originates from Baltīstān and means a ball. It is very curious that the game has become known in Europe not by its Indo-Persian, but by its Baltī name. I may add that previously, at the time of the Crusades, the game was introduced in Languedoc, under the name of *chicane* which is evidently derived from Persian *čaugān* through the Middle-Greek τζυκάνιον.

estimated the number of inhabitants at 4,000 to 5,000. At present it is 6,000. The most conspicuous building is the palace, the oldest portion of which dates back only to the middle of the 18th century.

Immediately north of the palace there is a group of six stone temples, arranged in a row from north to south. Three of these temples are dedicated to Viṣṇu and three to Śiva. Northernmost is that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ or Lakṣmī-nāth, the principal temple of Chambā. It contains an image of white marble, adorned with golden ornaments which were presented by various Rājās of the 17th and 18th centuries. The temple is said to have been founded by Sāhilla-varman shortly after the foundation of the town, and the marble of the image is believed to have been brought from the Vindhya by his son Yugākara.[1]

Of the other five temples of this group I wish only to note those of Candragupt and Trimukh, both *liṅga* shrines ascribed to Sāhilla-varman, and that of Gaurī-Śaṅkar with a brass image attributed to Yugākara.

Near the Caugān Gate we find another Viṣṇu temple known by the name of Hari Rāī. It is in possession of a copper-plate granted by Rājā Soma-varman, but issued in the first year of his successor, Āsaṭa. From this inscription it appears that this temple was erected in the second half of the 11th century by one Laksmaṇa-varman, who was probably a scion of the ruling house.

Between the palace and the *caugān* there is a stone temple dedicated to the goddess Campāvatī. Tradition holds that the town was named after her, but another explanation is that it owed its name to the abundance of *champak* trees (Michelia champaka). It seems very likely that the name of the goddess is derived from that of the tree, so that this in any case would be the origin of the name of the town.

There is no reason to doubt the tradition that Chambā was founded by Sāhilla-varman, as two copper-plate grants, issued by his son and grandson, are dated from Chambā as the seat of government. In these inscriptions the name of the town is spelt *Caṇpakā*. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is called Campā, from which the modern name is derived.

The foundation of Campā must have taken place in the first half of the 10th century. There is, therefore, no authority for the statement made by Professor Rhys Davids[2] that Campā, the capital of Aṅga, was named after the town on the Rāvī. Campā in Aṅga was one of the oldest cities of Madhyadeśa and is frequently referred to in Sanskrit literature. In the Book of the Great Decease it is included among the eight great towns of India. Campā on the Rāvī is not mentioned before the 10th century and was probably founded about that time. Its earliest mention in literature occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VII, 218) in connection with the expeditions of Ananta-deva of Kaśmīr (A.D. 1028-1063). It is clear that Campā on the

[1] Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 155 f. *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, pp. 113 f., and *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 75.

[2] *Buddhist India*, p. 35 "The Indian colonists in Cochin China named one of their settlements after this famous old town (*i.e.* Campā in Aṅga). And the Campā in Aṅga was again, in its turn, named after the still older Campā in Kaśmīr."

Rāvī was founded at a time when Campā in Aṅga had ceased to exist, or, at least, had lost its importance.

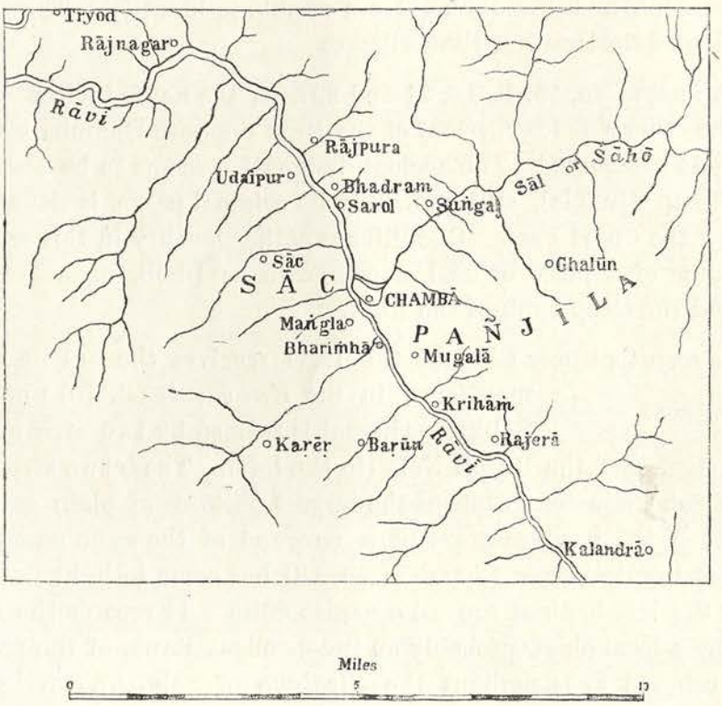

Fig. 5. Surroundings of Chambā Town.

The copper-plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa is of special interest for the topography of the districts surrounding the capital. The following are the *maṇḍalas* mentioned in that document :—

1° Pānthila (No. 25, ll. 16 and 31), the modern *pargaṇā* of Pañjilā, is situated immediately above Chambā city between the right bank of the Rāvī and the left bank of the Sāl. It contained the villages of Kuloṭī (unidentified)[1]; Muṅgala, the modern Mugalā, 2 miles south-east of Chambā ; Vāṭā, now Bāṭ, 4 miles south-east of Chambā ; and Ghalahaṇa, now Ghalūṇ (map Galone), in a valley opening on the left bank of the Sāl, 3 miles east of Chambā. The first mentioned village was, at the time of the grant, held in *jāgīr* by the Queen-mother, Rarḍhā.

2° Tāvasaka (No. 25, l. 17 ; also No. 15, l. 5) lies below Chambā Town, between the right bank of the Rāvī and the right bank of the Sāl. The name is probably preserved in that of the village of Tausā. The localities belonging to this *maṇḍala* are Sumaṅgala (No. 15, l. 6, also No. 16, l. 10) the present village of Suṅgaḷ, (map

[1] In a title-deed (No. XII, l. 11) of Saṁgrāma-varman, dated Śāstra 22, mention is made of a locality named Koloḍi.

Sungul) 2 miles above Chambā Town on the right bank of the Sāl; Bhadravarma, now Bhadram, 2¼ miles below Chambā; and Sarāhula, now Sarol (map Saroli) 2 miles below Chambā. The two latter villages, situated on the right bank of the Rāvī, belong now to the Rājnagar *pargaṇā*. The other localities of the Tāvasaka *maṇḍala*, Ḍhālyaka, Lartuka and Yauḍhaka, I am unable to identify. They would seem to indicate cultivated fields rather than villages.

3° Pārakamaṭa (No. 25, ll. 18, 21 and 29), as the name indicates, is the district situated on the other side (Skr. *pāra*) of the Rāvī opposite Chambā town, and is now known as the Sāc *pargaṇā*.[1] The ancient designation seems to be lost. The village of Maṅgalā (map Mungla), still known by its original name, is situated on the road to Nūrpur by the Cuāṛī Pass. Ḍhaullika, another locality in this *maṇḍala*, is evidently the name of a piece of land, now known as Ḍhōlī, near Maṅgalā, between the village and the steep bank of the Rāvī.

The Sāl or Sāhō.

We have seen that near Chambā the Rāvī receives the Sāl or Sāhō, which is mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (śl. 70) under the name of Śālikā. The Sāl is formed by two streams, the Maluṇḍ Nālā (to the right) and the Purolī Nālā (to the left). These two streams unite near the village of Sāhō, situated in one of the largest portions of plain country found in the State. It is the head-quarters of a *pargaṇā* of the same name. One of the most important inscriptions of Chambā (No. 13) has come to light in the hamlet of Sarāhaṇ, on the left bank of the Sāl opposite Sāhō. It records the foundation of a Śiva temple by a local chief, probably an independent Rāṇā, of the name of Sātyaki. The temple referred to is perhaps the *Śivālaya* of Sāhō known by the name of Candrasèkh. (Cf. fig. 24).

From Sāhō down to its junction with the Rāvī, the Sāl winds for some 8 miles along luxuriant rice and maize fields. About half-way along its course it is joined on the right by the Hol stream which waters the valley of the same name. It was formerly a separate *pargaṇā*, but has now been amalgamated with that of Gudyāḷ. It seems probable that the Hol-Gudyāḷ *pargaṇā* corresponds with the Bhaṭṭāra *maṇḍala* mentioned in a copper-plate of Āsaṭa (No. 26). It is said that fifteen villages in that *pargaṇā* are still indicated by the ancient name. The local goddess is known as Bhaṭṭār Dèvī Sītalā, and the pilgrimage to her shrine is called *Bhaṭṭār jātrā*. I am told that the inhabitants of these villages combine against other villages in the game of *chakṛī* (the same as *caumpaṛ*), thus preserving the tradition of their former unity as residents of the same district.

The *pargaṇās* of the Chambā or Sadar *wazārat* below Chambā Town are Rajnagar on the right bank and Udaipur on the left bank of the Rāvī and Dhundh (or Dhundhī), Kharōt and Tryōd in the valley of the Syũhl. The Rājnagar *pargaṇā*, as mentioned above, corresponds, partly at least, with the ancient Tāvasaka *maṇḍala*. The village of Rājnagar, which is the head-quarters of the *pargaṇā*, was named after Rājā Rāj Siṅgh (A.D. 1764-1794). Before his time it was called

[1] Can *kamaṭa*, the second member of the compound, be connected with Pukhtō *kamar*, "a cliff"?

Naḍā. Udaipur on the opposite bank received its name from Rājā Udai Siṅgh, in whose memory a small stone temple was erected after his murder on this spot in A.D. 1720.

The Syũhl.

About 14 miles below Chambā town the Rāvī is joined by its largest tributary, the Syũhl (*vulgo* Seol), which brings down the entire drainage of the Curāh province. This river comes from two fountain-heads. The western or main branch which drains Western Curāh rises from the Padrī Pass and flows through the districts of Bhāṇḍal (map Baundal), Kihār, Piclā-Ḍyuhr (map Duire) and Himgar or Himgiri (map Himgir). The last-mentioned district is referred to by the name of Kiṣkindha in two of our inscriptions (Nos. 12 and 13). Before the foundation of Chambā it was the seat of an independent Rāṇā. At Mūl-Kihār, the ancient head-quarters of the Kihār *parganā* (now transferred to Digi), there are the remains of the stronghold of another Rāṇā. This Rāṇā, as appears from an inscription of c. A.D. 1200 (No. 34), owed allegiance to the Rājās of Chambā. The eastern branch of the Syũhl rises from the Sāc Pass and flows almost due south receiving the waters of the Sai and Barhnotā Nālās on the right, and of the Berā (map Baira), Tīsā (map Tissa) and Cāñju (map Chanju) Nālās on the left. The Sai, Berā and Tīsā valleys constitute three *parganās* of the same names. The Barhṇotā valley contains the Barhṇotā and Bagoṛ (map Bagora) *parganās;* the Cāñju valley the Jasor (map Jasaor) and Lōh-Ṭikrī districts. The latter comprises the original *parganās* of Lōh-Ṭikrī, Baghai (or Bhagai) and Cāñju. Eastern Curāh has yielded a remarkable number of fountain-inscriptions, especially the Lōh-Ṭikrī *parganā*. The lower portion of the Syũhl valley, below the junction of the two branches, contains the *parganās* of Muñjīr (map Manjere), Jūṇḍh (map Juind) and Bhalai (map Balai). The last-mentioned district was in the 17th century a subject of dispute between Pṛthvī Siṅgh and Chattar Siṅgh of Chambā and Saṁgrām Pāl of Basōhlī.[1]

From its junction with the Syũhl, the Rāvī flows westwards till it reaches Jammū territory, where the Siōvā, forming the boundary, falls into it from the north. Here it trends to the south-west and forms for a short distance the boundary between Chambā and the ancient State of Basōhlī, now a district of Jammū-Kaśmīr. Its former capital of the same name lies almost opposite the point where the Rāvī leaves Chambā territory.

The *wazārat* of Bhaṭṭi is often indicated by the name *Bāra Bhaṭṭiāṅ* which points to its having once consisted of twelve *parganās*. The present number of districts of this *wazārat* is ten. They are the following:—Bāthri or Rāmpur, Shērpur (map Sairpur), Nagāḷ and Cūnh (map Chune) on the left bank of the Rāvī; Hubār (map Ubaur), Cvāṛī or Cuāṛī (map Chaohāri) and Raipur or Rēpar (map Rapir) in the Cakkī valley; and Ṭūṇḍī, Syũhtā (map Sihunta) and Bhaṭṭi-Ṭikrī (map Tikiria) on the Dēhḷ.

On the south side of the Dhaulā Dhār, Chambā State once possessed the Rihlu *'ilāqa* in which Dharmsālā is situated, and that of Pālam mentioned in the Baijnāth

[1] This dispute was decided in favour of Pṛthvī Siṅgh by a *sanad*, dated A. H. 1058 (A. D. 1648) which is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. C. 1).

praśasti under the name of Pralamba. It appears that at one time Chambā territory included the ancient fort of Paṭhyār,[1] in proximity to which the oldest rock-inscription of the Kāṅgṛā valley is found. Kaṇhiārā, the site of another somewhat later rock-inscription, belongs to the Rihlu *'ilāqa*. It is said that originally Rihlu and Pālam formed part of Chambā State, but were included in the imperial demesne created by Ṭōdar Mall after the submission of the Panjāb Hill States to Akbar. When the Mughal power collapsed, Umēd Siṅgh (A.D. 1748-1764) of Chambā reoccupied the lost territory.[2] In the reign of his son Rāj Siṅgh the great Saṁsār Cand of Kāṅgṛā claimed Rihlu as an integral part of his dominions. Rāj Siṅgh crossed the Dhaulā Dhār, but was surprised by the Kāṅgṛā troops and slain at Nērtī (map Neirtee) near Shāhpur in A.D. 1794. A temple was erected on the spot, where an annual *mēlā* takes place on the 7th Hāṛ, the date of his death. The bravery of Rāj Siṅgh is still sung in popular ballads on both sides of the Dhaulā Dhār. In A.D. 1821 Rihlu was occupied by Raṇjīt Siṅgh and thus finally lost to Chambā.

The Cīnāb.

The other great river of Chambā is the Cīnāb. In the Ṛgveda it is mentioned under the name of Asiknī[3] which underlies the Greek Akesines (with "Anlehnung" to the verb *akeomai*). Ptolemy calls it *Sandobal* derived from *Candrabhāgā*, the name by which the Cīnāb is known in Sanskrit literature and in inscriptions. This name the river has preserved in the Hills. Biruni calls it Candrahā, but gives also the Sanskrit name Candrabhāgā. In the Shāhpur district it is known as *Canhāṁ*, a name evidently derived from the Sanskrit. The form *Cīnāb* cannot be explained as an ordinary derivative of Candrabhāgā, but is evidently due to a popular etymology. Moorcroft is undoubtedly correct in assuming that the name Cīn-āb ("Water of Cīn") is based on the belief that the river took its origin in China.

In reality the Candrabhāgā takes its rise from the Baralacha Pass in British Lahul by two heads, the Candrā and the Bhāgā. Moorcroft was told that the real names were Candrabhāgā and Sūryabhāgā. The two rivers unite at Tandi and form one river of considerable size which enters Chambā-Lahul at Thirōṭ (map Tirot). Here are the ruins of two forts on both sides of the Chokhma Nālā. The first village in Chambā territory, called Sindvāṛī or Brāhmaṇ-kōṭhī, is said to have been founded by Brāhmaṇs from Kurukṣetra. Here we meet with the first fountain-stone, carved with three conventional lotus-flowers. Some five miles below Thirōṭ the river flows past Triloknāth,[4] famous for its Buddhist temple and widely renowned as a place of pilgrimage. On his march through Lahul Moorcroft "fell in with two half-starved Hindū fakirs, one of whom had come from Chapra and

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[1] The *pargaṇā* of Paṭhyār was bestowed in *jāgīr* on Rājā Dalēl Siṅgh by a *sanad* issued under the seal of Zakariyyā Khān, Governor of Lahore, in A. H. 1158 (A.D. 1745). It was confirmed to Rājā Umēd Siṅgh by a *sanad* issued under the seal of Aḥmad Shāh (Durānī) in A. H. 1175 (A.D. 1762). Both these documents are preserved in the State Museum (Nos. C, 6 and 15).

[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 85, 97, 101 and 104.

[3] *Cf.* E. Thomas, *The rivers of the Veda*, p. 5. Biruni, *India*, Vol. I. pp. 206 and 259. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 195 ff.; Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 112; Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 117.

[4] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I. pp. 193 f.; *cf.* my note *Triloknāth* in *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXX, Part I, p. 1.

the other from Ujjain." Both were going on a pilgrimage to Triłōknāth. A marble image of the Bodhisattva Avałokiteśvara is worshipped here both by Buddhists and Hindūs under the name of Trilōknāth (Skr. *Trilokanātha*, "Lord of the three worlds"). This has now become the common appellation of the village, its real name being Tunde. It is the seat of a Rāṇā who holds the greater part of Chambā-Lahul in *jāgīr*. In 1863 nearly the whole village was swept over the precipice by an avalanche and sixty of the inhabitants lost their lives. The temple remained standing.

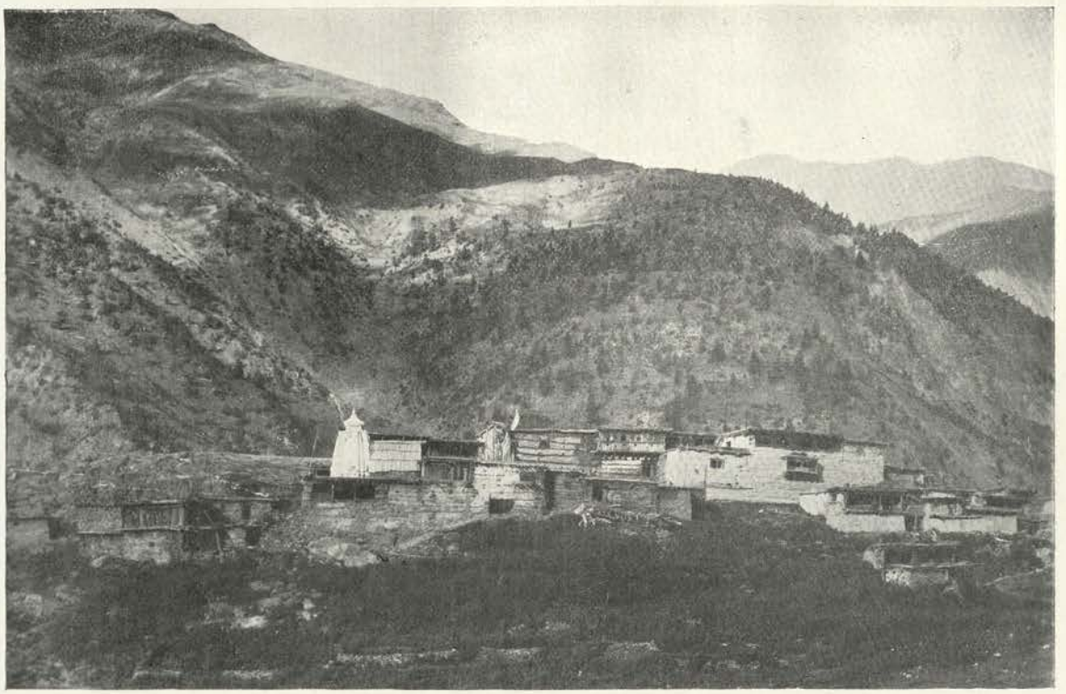

Fig. 6. Trilōknāth.

At Udaipur (map Odapur), three miles below Triłōknāth, the Candrabhāgā is augmented by the Maiyāṛ (map Miyar) which takes its rise from the Zaṅgskar Range. The village possesses a shrine remarkable for its profuse and elaborate wood-carvings. It is dedicated to Kālī, locally known as Markulā Dēvī or the Goddess of Markulā. This is the Lahuli name of the village,[1] which was renamed Udaipur by Rājā Udai Siṅgh of Chambā (A.D. 1690-1720). The State Kōṭhī, founded here by the same Rājā, is the only monument of Chambā rule in Lahul.

Below Udaipur the villages are few and far between; and the tract between Tindi, the last place of Lahul, and Saur, the first village in Pāṅgī—a distance of 17 miles—is a desolate region, entirely without inhabitants. At Pōrthī (map Purti) are two fountains of which one was constructed in the reign of Rājā Ugar Siṅgh in Śāstra-saṁvat 1 (A.D. 1725). There is also a temple of Mulāsan Dēvī with quaint wood-carvings. It bears an inscription of Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh dated Śāstra-saṁvat

[1] The name is pronounced either Maṛkulā or Miṛkulā. In Tibetan it is spelled *Mar-sgul*.

27 (A.D. 1651). At Sāc (map Sauch) the Candrabhāgā receives the waters of the Sēcu (map Saichu) Nālā, and after flowing through a fairly open valley past Kilāṛ and Dharvās (map Darvas), enters Pāḍar three miles below the hamlet of Luj. The villages of Sāc, Kilāṛ and Dharvās are the chief places of the three *parganās* of the same names which constitute the Pāṅgī *'ilāqa*. The State Kōṭhī at Sāc has an inscription in Ṭākarī recording the foundation of the building by Rājā Ugar Siṅgh of Chambā in *saṁvat* 1 (A.D. 1725). The only shrine of note in the division is the temple of Cāmuṇḍā at Mindhal (map Mindal) opposite Sāc. It is in possession of a copper-plate issued by Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh in Vikrama 1698, Śāstra 17 (A.D. 1641).

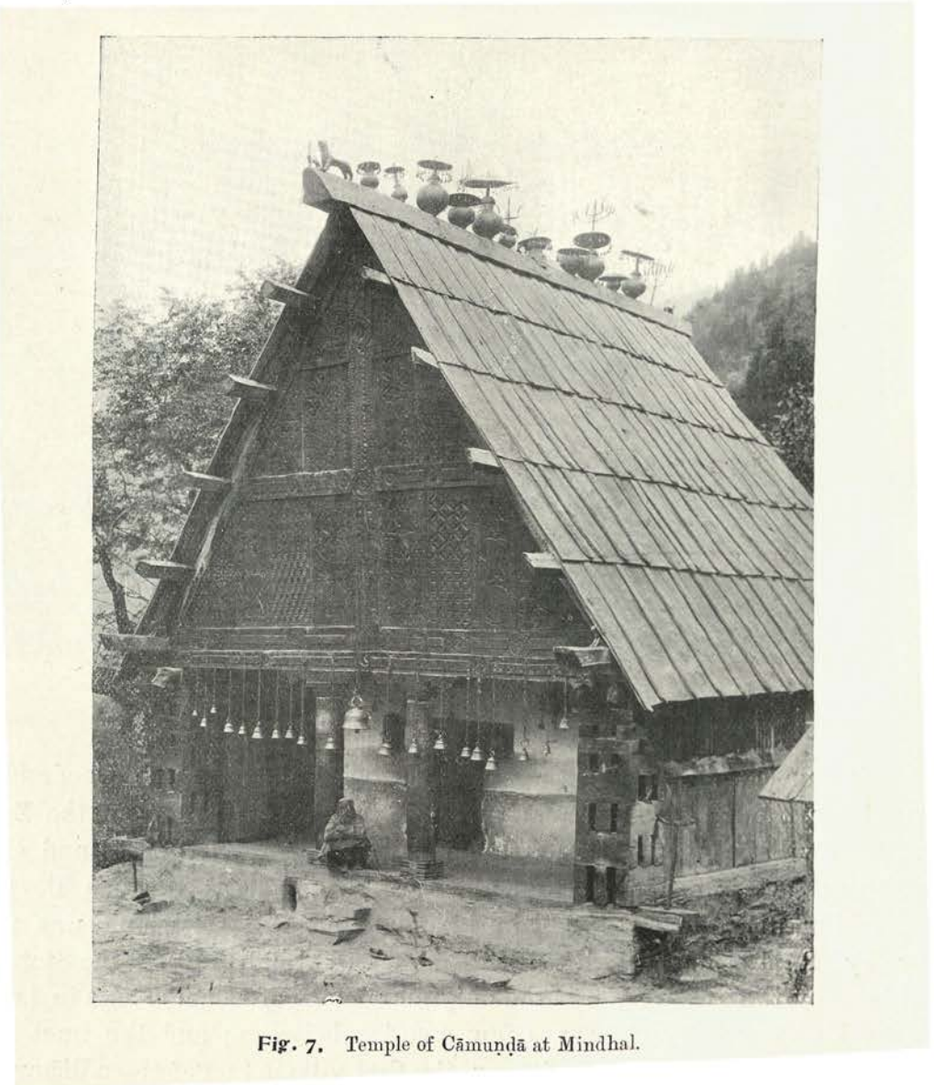

Fig. 7. Temple of Cāmuṇḍā at Mindhal.

Round Kilāṛ carved fountain-stones are exceedingly numerous, but only a few of them bear inscriptions. An inscribed fountain-slab (No. 28) of the first year of Rājā Jāsaṭa (A.D. 1105-6) is found at Luj near the Pāḍar border. At Sālhī in the Sēcu Nālā (fig. 1) there is another stone (No. 33) of large size carved with numerous figures of deities, and provided with an inscription dated in the 27th year of Rājā

Lalitavarman (A.D. 1170). It is evident from this inscription that Sālhī was then the seat of a Rāṇā. His descendants still live on the spot. (Cf. fig. 21.)

In Lahul and Pāṅgī we often meet with upright, plain slabs erected in memory of the dead. They are called *dhajā* (Skr. *dhvaja*, "banner, emblem") or *puṇ* (Skr. *puṇya*, "religious merit") and may be seen on plate IV.

Roads and passes.

Though the main roads now in use are of recent origin, we may assume that the lines of communication, determined by the orographical system and particularly by the position of the passes, have been the same ever since Chambā became inhabited. It is possible that certain roads and passes were at one time more frequented than they are at the present day, and that others have now come into greater prominence; but the documents at our disposal supply but little information on this point. Considering the nature of the country, there can be little doubt that no trade route of any importance ever ran through Chambā territory. Trade between India and Central Asia naturally chose the more open valleys of the Jēhlam and the Biās. More especially the trade-route through the Kāṅgṛā and Kuḷū valleys, Lahul and Ladak, followed by Moorcroft, must have been in use from very remote times. An indirect proof of the existence of this route in the 7th century A.D. is afforded by Hiuen-Tsiang.[1] After describing Jālandhara, he gives an account of Kiu-lu-to (Kulūta or Kuḷū), Lo-u-lo (Lahul) and Mo-lo-so (Marpo or Ladak), though apparently he did not visit these countries personally. He had evidently received his information during his stay at Jālandhara from traders who had travelled to Central Asia by this route. It is possible that occasionally, owing to political influences, part of the Central Asian trade deviated from its ordinary course and followed the less accessible valleys of the Rāvī and the Cīnāb, but under ordinary circumstances it must always have returned to its natural channels.

The roads in Chambā territory, even those through the main river valleys, were indeed up to very recent times of the most primitive description. (Cf. fig. 8). In one of our epigraphs (No. 35) the construction of a road is stated to be the means for acquiring infinite merit. But the ancient rulers of the State have not shown great eagerness thus to provide for their bliss in the next world. They, no doubt, had to consider first of all the exigencies of the present, and at a time when every neighbour was an enemy, the difficulty of the roads constituted the best safeguard for the security of the State.

Roads to the plains.

Of the roads connecting Chambā Town with the plains that by Dalhousie, now in most common use, dates only from the founding of that Sanitarium in A.D. 1851. The Sundhārā and Cvāṛī or Cuāṛī roads, on the contrary, are no doubt ancient. The former follows the left bank of the Rāvī by Bāthrī, Sundhārā and Phangōhtā as far down as Shāhpur, from where it crosses the lower hills to Paṭhān-kōṭ, the total distance from Chambā being about 55 miles. This road provides at the same time a direct communication between Chambā and Basōhḷī, once the capital of the former State of that name. Vigne[2] speaks of a second road from Chambā to Basōhḷī along the right bank of the Rāvī. From there Jammū can be reached in six marches. The stages are the following:—Mahānpur (12 miles), Bhaḍu (map Pudoa; 6 miles),

[1] Stanislas Julien, *Mémoires de Hiouen-Thsang*, Vol. I. pp. 203 f. and Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, pp. 177 f.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 150.

Sumuṛtā (map Sambarta; 6 miles), Rāmkōṭ (formerly Maṇkōṭ; 8 miles), Mānsar (12 miles), and Jammū (18 miles).

This road is only a portion of the trade-route from Delhi to Kaśmīr through the lower hills. Forster,[1] who travelled by this road in April 1783, remarks:—

"Previously to Nadir Shah's invasion of India, the common road from Dehli to Kashmire, lay through Sirhend, Lahore, and Heerpour, the pass of which is fully described by Mr. Bernier, under the name of Bember. Since the inroad of the Persians, Afghans, and the Mahrattas, but especially since the period of the Sieque conquests, that track has been rendered unsafe to merchants, and is now disused. This obstruction diverted the Kashmirian trade into the channel of Jumbo, which being shut up from the Punjab by a strong chain of mountains, difficult of access to cavalry, it has been preferred to the Lahore road, though the journey is tedious, and the expenses of merchandise increased."

The stages where Forster halted were Plassee, *i.e.*, Palāsī, (10 kōs), Buddoo, *i.e.*, Bhaḍu (10 kōs), Mancote, *i.e.*, Maṇkōṭ, (8 kōs), Mansir, *i.e.*, Mānsar (8 kōs), and Jumbo, *i.e.*, Jammū. Basōhlī, Bhaḍu and Maṇkōṭ were then petty principalities dependent on Jammū.

Sumuṛtā, half-way between Bhaḍu and Maṇkōṭ, is the name of a tract of country comprising twelve villages. In the 10th century it appears to have been a hill-state, the inhabitants of which are referred to in two of our copper-plates (Nos. 24 and 25) under the name of Saumaṭika. This word appears to be derived from *Sumaṭa, which in the modern form, Sumaṛ, is preserved in Sumuṛtā.

Balor (Skr. Vallāpura), the ancient capital of the Basōhlī State, lies five miles north-west of Bhaḍu and is situated on the left bank of the Nāj Nālā, at a little distance above its junction with the Bhīṇī (map Pine) river which is a tributary of the Uj. It is interesting that Birunī[2] mentions Ballāvar, the modern Balor, on the route from Kanauj to Kaśmīr. We may conclude that in his time also, when the same conditions of insecurity prevailed in the plains as in the days of Forster, the route through the lower hills was largely resorted to for purposes of trade.

Road to Kāṅgṛā.

The Cuāṛī road is one of the main lines of communication between Chambā and the Kāṅgṛā valley—the ancient Trigarta. The road ascends the plateau opposite the town, which, as we have seen, was known in the 11th century as the district of Pārakamaṭa, and passes the village of Maṅglā (Skr. Maṅgala) after which it is now commonly named. Winding up the right bank of the Sarōṛī Nālā, it crosses the Dhaulā Dhār by the Cuāṛī Pass (height c. 8,000′) and enters the Bhaṭṭi *wazārat*. At the village of Cuāṛī (map Chaohari), situated some nine miles beyond the pass, the road bifurcates. The left branch runs south-east, and, passing Syūhtā (map Sihunta) and the old fort of Gaṇēs-gaṛh, reaches Rihlu in Kāṅgṛā. On the way the Cakkī, the Dēhl and the Brāhl are crossed. The passage of these rivers, when in flood, is attended with great difficulty. The distance from Chambā to Kāṅgṛā-kōṭ by this road is about 54 miles.

The main road from Cuāṛī continues in a south-western direction, following for 4 miles the bed of the Cakkī stream which has to be crossed and recrossed a dozen times. Near Jājṛī the road passes by the ruins of Tārā-gaṛh, a famous stronghold founded by Jagat Siṅgh, the Paṭhāniā chief of Nūrpur, and defended by him against the army of Shāh Jahān in A.D. 1641-42. On one of the towers is a stone

[1] *Journey*, Vol. I. pp. 245 f.; 2nd ed. p. 283. Cf. also Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I. pp. 171 ff. Heerpour is Hūrapōr, the ancient Sūrapura, on the Pīr Pantsāl (or Bhimbhar) road. Cf. *Rājat.* (transl. Stein) Vol. II. p. 394.

[2] *India*, Vol. I. p. 205.

Upper Rāvī Valley (Trēhṭā).

tablet with a Ṭākarī inscription dated in the reign of Rājā Rāj Siṅgh and in the year 63 (A.D. 1787). Half a mile beyond, the road leaves Chambā territory to enter the Nūrpur *taḥṣīl*, formerly the principality of that name. At Nūrpur it joins the main road to Paṭhān-kōṭ, the total distance from Chambā to this place being not more than 50 miles. The Cuāṛī road is much used and must have been so from early times. The crossing of the Cakkī is often perilous after heavy rain. The pass is usually under snow in January and February, and sometimes also in March; but even then the road is seldom closed for more than a day or two at a time.

Roads to Brahmor.

The main road from Chambā to Brahmor follows the Rāvī valley for about 20 miles as far as Pyuhrā. This part of the road, however, dates only from 1879. The old road crossed the river immediately above Chambā Town, near the low plain known as Naḷhōrā which was formerly a Muhammadan graveyard and at the present time is used as a parade ground. The bridge, which must have been of the cantilever type commonly found in the hills, is still remembered under the name of *Ḍuku-* or *Ḍugu-rā-sēu* (Camb. *sēu*, Skr. *setu*). Tradition holds that it was built by Dāī Baṭlō, the wetnurse of Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh, and named after her husband Ḍuku.[1] The existence of a copper-plate dated Vikrama 17[0]2, Śāstra 21, (A.D. 1745), and recording a grant of land by *Dhātrī Baṭulā Devī* on the occasion of the consecration of a bridge (*setu-pratiṣṭhā-samaye*) confirms the popular tradition. It is probable, however, that long before the days of Dāī Baṭlō there existed a bridge on this spot. Lower down, a temporary bridge connected in former times the two banks of the Rāvī. It was replaced by a permanent bridge in the reign of Caṛhat Siṅgh in A.D. 1808. This having collapsed, the present iron suspension bridge was constructed here in A.D. 1895.

From the Ḍuku-rā-sēu the road ascended the plateau of Bhaṛiṁha (map Baraia) and, following the hill slope along the left bank of the Rāvī, passed the villages of Mehlā (map Maila), Bakāṇ, Basu and Pyuhrā, each the head-quarters of a *parganā* of the same name.[2] From these places the Dhaulā Dhār can be crossed by several passes which it is unnecessary to describe. The most important is the Balenī Pass (height c. 12,000′) which leads from Basu to Shāhpur by way of Tur, mentioned above as the seat of a Rāṇā and the find-place of several inscriptions. Another road, which starts from Basu, crosses the Dhaulā Dhār by the Kankōṭ Pass (map Bowar Pass, height 11,602′), and reaches Rihlu in the Kāṅgṛā District. The place where this road surmounts the range is a narrow gorge known as Proḷī-rā-gaḷā ("Gate-neck"). Here an ancient rock-inscription is found which indicates that this road was used about the 9th century of our era. The word *gaḷā* as well as its diminutives *gaḷī* and *gaḷu* denote a narrow passage leading over a spur or mountain-ridge. Its original meaning is "throat, neck" (Skr. *gala*). We may compare French-Swiss *col*, and Cape-Dutch *nek*. The term used in the Panjāb Hills to designate a mountain pass is *jōt*, the original meaning of which seems to be "yoke" (Skr. root *yuj-*). It is interesting to compare the German-Swiss *joch* and the Italian *giogo* in the meaning of which we note the same transition.

From Pyuhrā the new road through the valley reverts to the old line which ascends the slope to reach Chatrāṛhī. The antiquity of this place is attested by the

[1] According to others, the bridge was named *Baṭlō-rā-sēu* after the lady herself.

[2] From Mehlā onwards the road is still in existence and has lately been repaired by the Forest Department.

Dēvī temple of Meru-varman, referred to above. From Chatrāṛhī the road drops into the Circiṇḍā Nālā[1] and ascends the opposite slope to Kōṭhī which was once the seat of a Rāṇā and is, therefore, known as Raṇhuṁ Kōṭhī; the word *raṇhuṁ* designating a barony ruled by a Rāṇā. From here a branch road crosses the Girjhār Pass (height c. 10,000′) to Caṇhotā and runs up the Rāvī valley through Trēhṭā and Bārā Bhaṇsō to Baṛā Bhaṅgāl. The Dhaulā Dhār is crossed from Raṇhuṁ Kōṭhī by the Ghaj-kā-jōt (height 13,225′)[2] by which Bhāgsu-Dharmsālā can be reached in two or three days. The road is a difficult footpath, which follows the Ghaṭhōrā Nālā.

The main road rises from Raṇhuṁ-Kōṭhī to cross the Sāḍalī-rā-gaḷā (height c. 9,000′) and descends again by Ulānsā (map Hulans). Ulānsā, as well as the adjoining villages of Gurōḷā and Svāī on the left bank of the Rāvī, are the seats of three Rāṇās, feudatories of the Rājā of Chambā. (Cf. fig. 20). Beyond Ulānsā the Rāvī is crossed by a wooden bridge. Ascending the opposite slope, it reaches Khaṇī (map Kani) situated at a height of 6,446′ on the end of the spur which forms the watershed between the Rāvī and the Buḍhaḷ. In the oldest copper-plate grant found in Chambā State (No. 14) mention is made of the Khaṇī hospice (Skr. *maṭha*), which not only proves the existence of the village as far back as the 10th century, but also shows that even then it was a place on the main road and was visited by travellers. From Khaṇī a branch road passes up the right bank of the Rāvī valley by Grima—a village mentioned under the same name in the title-deed just referred to—and joins the road on the left bank not far from Kulait, the ancient Kulikagoṣṭha, in Trēhṭā. Another branch crosses the Buḍhaḷ river and, following the Tundāh Nālā, crosses the Kālī-chō Pass (height 16,402′) to Trilōknāth in Chambā-Lahul.

The main road proceeds along the left bank of the Buḍhaḷ to Brahmor, the ancient capital. About a mile before reaching this place a rock-inscription in the Tibetan character will be noticed on the road-side. Carved on the same stone are three figures of Gaṇeśa, Śiva, and Dēvī. (Cf. figs. 29 and 30). At the village of Ghosan, on the left bank of the Buḍhaḷ beneath Brahmor, some Tibetan rock-inscriptions are found, but these consist only of mystic formulas.

The Buḍhaḷ valley is connected with Lahul by two roads. From Brahmor one road crosses the Cōbiā Pass (height 16,720′), which perhaps owes its name to its crevasses (*cōbā*) and reaches the Candrabhāgā valley above Trilōknāth. The other and more frequented road follows the left bank of the Buḍhaḷ to Haṛsar (map Harser, height 6,650′), which possesses a small Śiva temple with an inscribed image which perhaps accounts for the name of the place (Hara=Śiva). Here a short branch road runs up to the sacred lake of Maṇimahēs, regarded by popular belief as the main source of the Rāvī. The main road crosses the Buḍhaḷ and proceeds up its right bank to Kukti village, and thence over the Kukti Pass (height 17,001′) to Yob-rang (map Jobrung) in British Lahul, where the Candrabhāgā is crossed by means of a *jhūlā* or rope bridge.[3] Another branch road leaves the main road at Kukti village to cross the Maṇimahēs Range into Baṛā Bhaṅgāl.

Chambā is connected with Brahmor by a second ancient road which runs through the mountains to the north of the Rāvī. After ascending the Sāhō valley for 4 miles, it crosses the stream and surmounts the Jamvār ridge. It then descends and passes

[1] This *nālā* forms the boundary between the Pyuhrā and Raṇhuṁ-Kōṭhī *parganās*.

[2] Also called *Bag* and *Bhīm-kī-gasūtrī*.

[3] For a description of the *jhūlā* cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 14. See also plate III.

the villages of Lilh, Guṁ and Belj and, after crossing the Tundāh Dhār and the Tundēhn Nālā, follows the mountain slope on the right bank of the Buḍhaḷ to Brahmor. The only place of antiquarian interest on this road is Guṁ. It was in the days of Meru-varman (c. A.D. 700) the seat of a chieftain who owed allegiance to the ruler of Brahmor. From an inscription on a *liṅga* stand found here it appears that the ancient name of the place was Śivapura. The large number of stone *liṅgas* may account for this name. On the river bank beneath Guṁ there is still a sanctuary of Śiva, known as Tilōcan Mahādēv (Skr. *Trilocana-mahādeva* "the three-eyed great god"), where an annual *mēlā* takes place on the Durgāṣṭamī in the month of Bhādōn. In the Panali Nālā, not far from Guṁ, are some rock-inscriptions (Nos. 1-4), the oldest epigraphs hitherto discovered in Chambā State. It is curious that one of them consists of an invocation to Śiva.

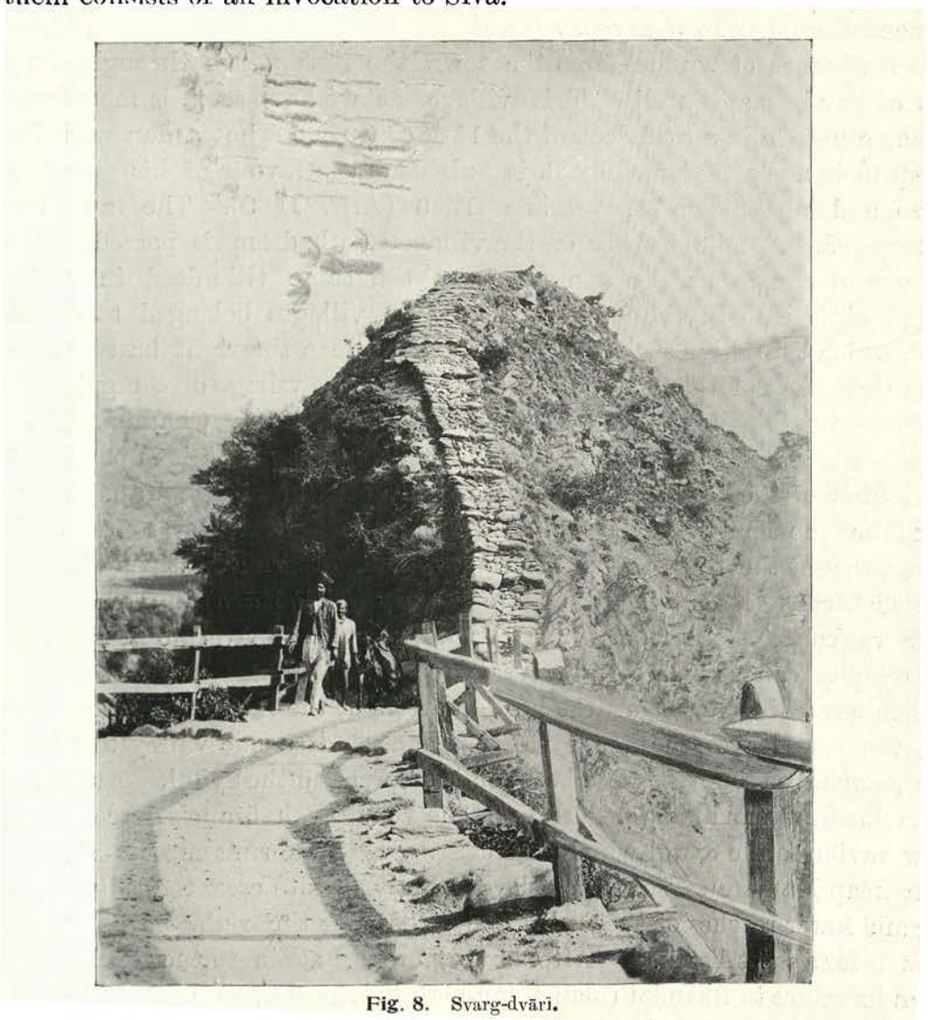

Fig. 8. Svarg-dvārī.

Road to Bhadravāh.

Another important road, which connects Chambā with Bhadravāh and Pāṅgī, starts from the northern end of the town and, after crossing the Sālā stream, descends to the right bank of the Rāvī. This road is also greatly modernized, but the old path may still be seen, which, roughly paved, zigzags down the steep hill slope.[1] At the point where it

[1] Figure 8 shows the modern road along with the ancient path which leads to the burning *ghāṭ* (Skr. *śmaśāna*) situated at the junction of the Rāvī and Sāhō rivers and which is euphemistically named *Svarg-dvārī* "the Gate of Heaven."

descends from the northern end of the plateau on which the town stands, there is a stone platform (*cābūtrā*) with an inscription which records that Sundara-dāsa, the son of Vīra-dāsa, the son of Bhāgīratha-dāsa, for the love of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, planted a *pīpal* tree (Skr. *aśvattha*, Ficus religiosa) here, and had a platform made so that all creatures might take a rest in its shade. The date of the inscription is Vikrama 1717, Śaka 1582, Śāstra 36, Vaiśākha *va. di.* 13, Wednesday, at the Vernal Equinox, *i.e.*, the 20th March 1660.[1] When Cunningham visited Chambā, the *pīpal* had been replaced by a very large *tun* tree (Cedrela toona) which, in its turn, has now disappeared. Only recently a new *pīpal* tree has been planted which, it is hoped, will afford shelter against the heat of the sun to many a traveller. The old road, notwithstanding its steepness, is still preferred by the hill-people to the new one, and Sundar Dās' *cabūtrā* must be a welcome resting-place to weary way-farers.

At a distance of 2 miles from the town the road passes through the ancient garden of Sarol (map Saroli). This village, as we have seen, is mentioned under the name *Sarāhula* in a title-deed of the 11th century. The garden with its pond is referred to in a charter issued by Rājā Balabhadra in favour of his *purohita* Īśvara or Īśuru, and dated Śāstra 75, Vikrama 1656 (A.D. 1599). The tank has lately been renewed. A mile farther on the village of Bhadram is passed. Its ancient name was Bhadravarma, as appears from the same title-deed in which Sarā-hula is mentioned. In the 11th century both villages belonged to the Tāvasaka district, which evidently consisted of the tract between the right bank of the Rāvī and the right bank of the Sālā, as it included also the village of Suṅgaḷ, then called Sumaṅgala, on the right bank of the Sālā, 2 miles from Chambā. At present Bhadram and Sarol belong to the Rājnagar *parganā*; but it is possible that the ancient name of the district is preserved in that of the village Tausā (map Tosa), situated on the spur between the Rāvī and the Sālā valleys. It would seem, however, that at the time of the inscription Bhadravarma was the head-quarters of the district, as it contained the State granary (*koṣṭhāgāra*) in which the revenue in kind was collected and from which 1 *khāri* of grain was granted annually to a Viṣṇu temple, founded by a certain Pāsaṭa.

Before reaching Rājnagar, the head-quarters of the modern district of the same name, the road leaves the main valley and ascends a side valley to Pukhrī (map Puker), perched on the watershed between the Rāvī and the Syũhl. At this point the roads to Bhadravāh and Pāṅgī bifurcate. The Bhadravāh branch descends through a narrow ravine to the Syũhl which it crosses.[2] It then runs up its right bank to Mañjīr (map Manjere). Subsequently it rapidly rises to cross the ridge between the upper and lower reaches of the Syũhl and, regaining the right bank of the river, follows it for a short distance. After having crossed again to the left bank, the road pursues its course to Bhāṇḍaī (map Bhaundal, height 5,675′) and Laṅgērā (height 6,978′). At a distance of 3½ miles south of the former place, on the ridge which here forms the boundary between Chambā and Basōhḷī, we notice the ruins of the old fort of Pṛthvī-jōṛ (*jōṛ* from Persian *zōr* "force") founded by Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh after whom it is named. From Laṅgērā the road crosses the Padrī Pass, (height c. 10,000′)

[1] Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XXI, p. 136; Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX (1891), p. 152; and *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 57.

[2] A recently made road runs from the Kōṭhī bridge over the Syũhl to Salūṇī on the ridge above Mañjīr and descending crosses the Syũhl at Pala' bridge and runs on to Bhāṇḍal.

and enters Bhadravāh territory. The distance between the towns of Chambā and Bhadravāh is 64 miles. From Bhadravāh, Islāmābād (the ancient Anantanāga) in the Kaśmīr valley can be reached by way of Kaṣṭavār, the ancient Kāṣṭhavāṭa.

Road to Pāṅgī.

The Pāṅgī road which we left at Pukhrī ascends from there to Mūsruṇḍ and then continues due north through the main valley of Eastern Curāh, passing the villages of Kalhēl, Tīsā, Berā and Alvās. From Alvās it crosses the Sāc Pass (height 14,328′) to Kilār in Pāṅgī. Two branch roads run up the side valleys to reach the Candrabhāgā valley by less frequented passes. One follows the right bank of the Cāñju Nālā, and passes Lōh Ṭikrī and Baghai, from where Tindi in Lahul can be reached either by the Drātī Pass (height c. 15,000′) or by the Maṛoa or Caṛarā Pass (map Chara Pass; height 14,320′). Both these passes are difficult and very precipitous on the Curāh side. The Drātī ("the Sickle") especially is dreaded on account of its stone avalanches. There is a direct road between Chambā and Cāñju through the Hol valley.

Fig. 9. Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī.

The second side-road runs up the Berā Nālā to Hail and passes Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī, once the seat of a Rāṇā, the ruins of whose castle are still extant. (*Cf.* fig. 18). One of the finest Sanskrit inscriptions in Chambā was found here. From Hail the road crosses the Cēnī (map Chaia) Pass (height 14,299′) to Mindhal opposite Sāc. It is said that this pass was crossed by Pṛthvī Siṅgh on his return from Kuḷū. It appears to have been more frequented at one time than it is at present. This perhaps explains why the pass leading to Kilār is inappropriately called the Sāc Pass.

A third branch leaves the main road a little beyond Tīsā and runs by Sai, Bagoṛ and Baṛhṇotā to the Dāganī Dhār which it crosses by the Makan or Barāri Pass (height circa 12,100′) to Balēs, a hill-tract included in Bhadravāh. Sai possesses an important fountain inscription (No. 35).

Road through Lahul and Pāṇgī.

The main road in Lahul and Pāṅgī follows the Candrabhāgā valley throughout and must have done so from the time that a road has existed. Though improved in parts, it is still, taken as a whole, of the most primitive description. In places it is carried from ledge to ledge by means of narrow wooden bridges of a very insecure character, locally known by the name of *traṅgaṛī*.

After entering Chambā territory at Thirōṭ (map Tirot), it follows the right bank of the river. As far down as the Udaipur plain the valley is fairly open and the road therefore comparatively easy. From Maṛgrām (map Margraon ; height 8,755′) to Salgrām (map Salgraon)[1] it runs for the most part along the face of the cliffs. It crosses over to the left bank at Salgrām and continues on this side as far down as Sāc (map Sauch) in Pāṅgī. The old road, however, crosses to Saur (map Saor) on the right bank (some 10 miles above Sāc), where a rope-bridge or *jhūlā* connects the two river banks. From Pōrthī (map Purti, 4 miles below Saur, this road ascends to Rēh (*rēh*=mountain-ridge) and from there drops down to the Sēcu Nālā which it crosses to Sāc (height 7,886′).

Fig. 10. Kilāṛ in Pāṅgī.

Below Sāc the valley is more open and the road fairly level. For a distance of ⅛ mile between Sāc and Kilāṛ it is carried along the face of the precipice on crowbars fixed horizontally into the rock. This work was carried out by the Forest Department about A.D. 1870. The old road which is still extant used to lead over the shoulder of the cliff by almost perpendicular wooden steps. A little farther down near the village of Phindru (map Phinru) the path has been partly hewn out of the solid rock. This was probably done in the reign of Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh, as appears from a rock-inscription containing the name of that chief and dated Śāstra 18 corresponding to A.D. 1642-3. From Kilāṛ the road continues along the right bank at a fairly high level to Dharvās and Luj and at the Sansārī Nālā it leaves Chambā territory to enter Pāḍar.

[1] In the Lahuli dialect these villages are called Mauṅ and Sāgā.

Another ancient route connecting Lahul and Pāṅgī leads up the Maiyāṛ Nālā from Markulā (Udaipur) and, after crossing the Ghōṛ Dhār (map Gurdhaṛ) Pass, descends by the Sēcu Nālā (fig. 1) to the Candrabhāgā valley which it rejoins at Sāc. This road, notwithstanding the height of the pass, is said to be shorter and easier than that which follows the Candrabhāgā. It is practicable for hill-ponies, a circumstance which perhaps accounts for the name of the pass. Starting from Markulā, the stages are Cimrat, Maiyāṛ (map Miyar; height 10,215′), Singhmaṛh, Baṭor (map Bataor; height 11,638′), Sēcu (map Saichu; height 8,412′), and Sāc (map Sauch; height 7,886′). An inscribed fountain-stone found at Sālhī (map Sauli) 3 miles below Sēcu has been noticed above. From Sāc, Kilāṛ and Dharvās roads lead into Zaṅgskar.

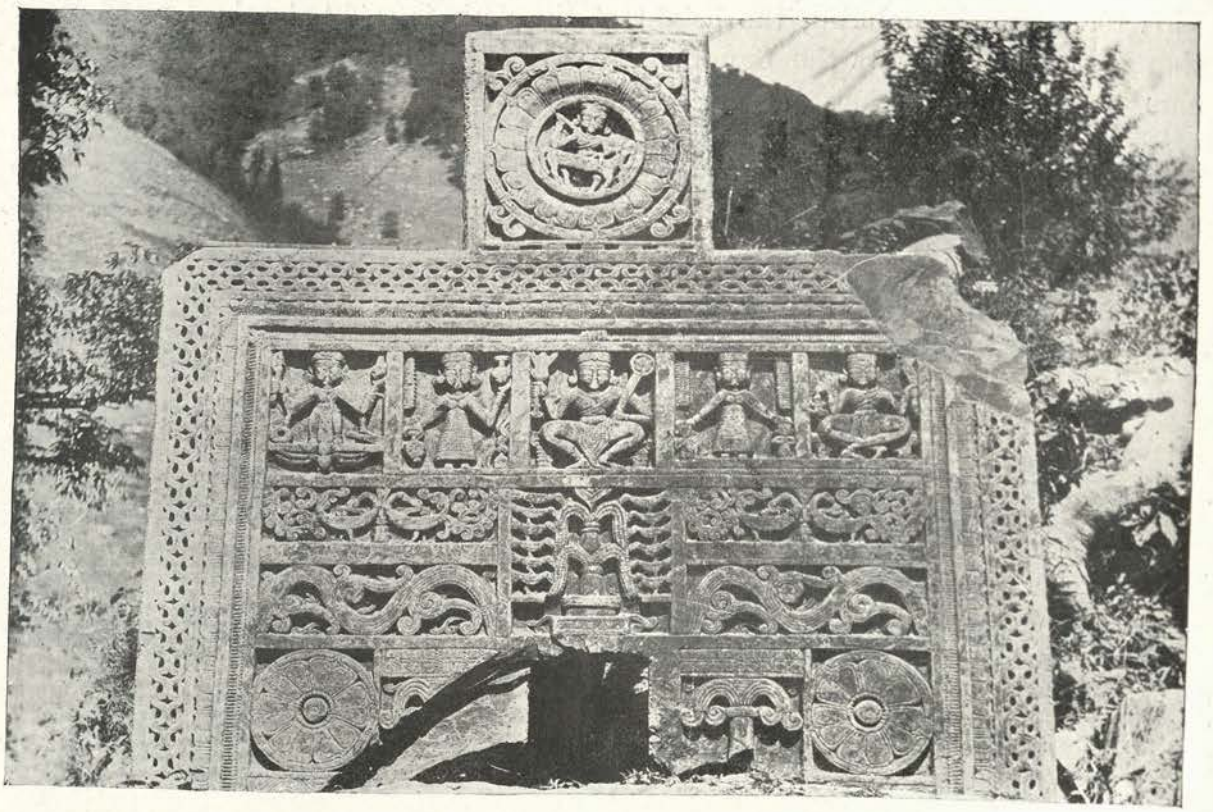

Fig. 11. Tepa Fountain Stone.

Chapter II.—THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Number and classification.

The number of the inscriptions found in Chambā State is not less remarkable than their variety. Whereas in Kaśmīr, Kāṅgṛā and Kuḷū, states of much greater antiquity and historical importance, only a very limited number of epigraphical records has been found, Chambā has yielded no less than 130 inscriptions, excluding those of the last two and a half centuries. This wealth of inscriptions within an area of only 3,216 square miles, of which the greater part is uninhabitable, is entirely due to its secluded position, and may convey some idea of the amount of historical material which has been lost in other more accessible districts, both in the Hills and the Plains. We know that in the 12th century there existed in Kaśmīr extensive inscriptions on stone and title-deeds on copper, which were consulted by Kalhaṇa while composing his famous Chronicle. "By examining the inscriptions" says that author[1] "recording the consecration of temples (*pratiṣṭhā-śāsana*) and grants (*vastu-śāsana*) by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions (*praśasti-paṭṭa*) and at written

[1] *Rājat.* I, 15; transl. Stein, Vol. 1. p. 3. *Cf.* also V, 397.

works, the trouble arising from many errors has been overcome." There existed, moreover, numerous images of stone and metal, many of which, no doubt, bore dedicatory inscriptions. Kalhaṇa[1] relates how, in the reign of the great Lalitāditya, two images were discovered "which (as the letters engraved on the bases showed) had been made by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa." This record, though legendary, shows that inscribed images were not unknown in Kalhaṇa's days.

In Kaśmīr not a single copper-plate has been discovered, and of stone inscriptions only a few insignificant fragments. "Of the first class of documents (*pratiṣṭhāśāsanas*)," Dr. Stein[2] remarks, "only a small number of specimens has been found in Kaśmīr, and none of them, except a fragmentary inscription of the time of Queen Diddā, now in the Lahore Museum, can be ascribed with certainty to a period earlier than Kalhaṇa. No inscription of the kind described under II and III (*vastuśāsana* and *praśastipaṭṭa*) has come to my knowledge in Kaśmīr." At Babor the ancient Babbāpura, the capital of a hill state dependent on Kaśmīr, I noticed in 1906 an extensive Śāradā inscription inside a ruined temple. It is probably a *praśasti*, but it is too much defaced to be deciphered.

Kāṅgṛā and Kuḷū, both situated on the ancient trade route between India and Central Asia, have been scarcely more fortunate. It is true that Kāṅgṛā, the ancient Trigarta, has yielded two very ancient rock inscriptions and the important *praśastis* of Baijnāth, but considering that Chambā possesses no less than fifty epigraphs of the pre-Muhammadan period, those of its powerful neighbour are extremely scanty. On the borders of Kuḷū, one of the most ancient of the Panjāb Hill States, an inscription of the Gupta period has come to light. It is the rock inscription of Salāṇu in Maṇḍi territory. The other inscriptions found in that district do not date further back than the middle of the 16th century A.D. The oldest copper-plate is that issued by Bahādur Siṅgh which is preserved in Chambā and is dated [Śāstra-]saṁvat 35 corresponding to A.D. 1559.[3] It is not at all improbable that continued research and excavation of ancient sites will bring to light additional material, but we can hardly expect as rich a harvest as, even without resorting to excavation, the Hill State of Chambā has yielded in a few summers' exploration.

The total number of inscriptions collected in Chambā amounts to one hundred and thirty, of which fifty are of the pre-Muhammadan period, and eighty of the Muhammadan period.

From the objects on which they are incised these records may be divided into rock inscriptions, slab inscriptions, image inscriptions and copper-plate inscriptions. Another classification, according to their contents, is that quoted from Kalhaṇa:

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[1] *Rājat.* IV, 272-276; transl. Stein, Vol. I. p. 148.

[2] Note at *Rājat.* I, 15.

[3] Cf. *A. R. A. S.*, 1903-04, pp. 261-269. On p. 266 the date is erroneously stated to be 1659; the spelling *Kuḷḷū* is to be abandoned.

viz., records of consecration (Skr. *pratiṣṭhā-śāsana*), title-deeds (Skr. *vastu-śāsana*)[1] and eulogies (Skr. *praśasti-paṭṭa*). Among these the title-deeds are usually engraved on copper-plates, and the eulogies are mostly cut on stone slabs. Stone is used for inscriptions of the first kind also, except when the consecrated object is an image of metal.

Rock inscriptions.

Rock inscriptions are not as numerous in Chambā as the abundance of the material would lead one to expect. But some of the most ancient epigraphs in the State belong to this class; namely, those of Paṇali Nālā (Nos. 1-4), Tur (No. 10) and Proḷī-rā-gaḷā (No. 11). It may be noted that the Kaṇhiārā and Paṭhyār rock-inscriptions—the two oldest records of the Kāṅgṛā district—were once situated in Chambā territory. But as they date back to a time far anterior to the founding of the Chambā State, I have not thought it necessary to include them in the present volume.[2] The rock inscriptions found within the present boundaries of the State are mostly brief records cut on the rock in bold but badly shaped letters, and consequently not always easy to decipher. To this class belong a few Tibetan records found in the neighbourhood of Brahmor and to be noted more fully hereafter (No. 50).

Image inscriptions.

Among the image inscriptions the most important are those of Meru-varman (c. A.D. 700) incised on brass statues at Brahmor and Chatrāṛhī. Large-sized metal images of so early a date are extremely rare in India, as such objects were the first to attract the destructive zeal of iconoclasts and the cupidity of unscrupulous kings. The numerous idols of gold, silver and other metals set up by the magnificent Lalitāditya were destroyed more than two centuries before the Moslims established their rule in the Kaśmīr valley. It was king Harṣa "that Turuṣka," as Kalhaṇa calls him, who, partly from greed and partly from perverseness, caused those relics of his great predecessor to be overthrown and desecrated, and for this purpose appointed a special official called "prefect for the destruction of gods" (Skr. *devotpāṭanānāyaka*).[3] Only two Brahmanical images escaped—that of Raṇasvāmin at Śrīnagar and that of Mārtāṇḍa the Sun-god—and two colossal Buddhas, one of which stood at Parihāsa-pura. The contemporaneous images of Meru-varman convey to us an idea of the style of those famous statues of Lalitāditya on which Kalhaṇa bestows so much praise.[4] Cunningham, who visited Brahmor in 1839, remarks that these images had never been seen by Muhammadans until his servants arrived there. It will, however, be noticed in the course of a more detailed discussion of the inscriptions that two of the Brahmor images have suffered damage at the hands of some foreign, probably non-Muhammadan, invader.

Inscribed metal statuettes of a much later date are those of Śiva at Harsar and of Markulā Dēvī in Chambā-Lahul. In each case the inscription records the conse-

[1] A title-deed recording a grant to a god or to a Brāhmaṇ is called *agrahāra-śāsana*. See beneath inscr. No. 15, l. 21.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 116-119.

[3] *Rājat.* VII, 1091-1098; transl. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 352 f.

[4] *Rājat.* IV, 181-217; transl. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 139—144.

cration of the image, and sometimes also of the temple in which it was placed; and therefore belongs to Kalhaṇa's first class of *pratiṣṭhā-śāsanas*.

We possess but few specimens of inscribed stone images. The oldest is probably the image of Dēvī erected by Rāṇā Bhogaṭa of Kiṣkindha, the modern Himgiri (No. 12). Next in date come the Dēvī image of Tur with an almost obliterated inscription (No. 19) and the Viṣṇu statuette of Sāhō of which the epigraph is also partly destroyed (No. 47). The Nārāyaṇa image of Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī, though itself much defaced, bears a well-preserved inscription. It is the only one of which the date can be approximately fixed. In this class are also to be reckoned the other two Tur inscriptions (Nos. 17 and 18) cut on stone stands which evidently once belonged to idols, and the Gum inscription (No. 9) cut on a squared stone which must have supported a *liṅga*.

Slab inscriptions.

Inscriptions on stone slabs are either records of consecration or eulogies. Very often the two are combined, as in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13) which was primarily intended to record the erection of a Śiva temple, but the greater part of which is devoted to the praise of the founder's spouse, Somaprabhā. It may rightly be called a love-poem carved in stone. Likewise the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī and Mūl-Kihār fountain-inscriptions (Nos. 32 and 34) are at the same time *praśastis*, as they contain a flattering account of the pious donors and their relatives. The poet of the former seems actually to designate his composition by that name. These laudatory inscriptions, apart from their historical value, are documents of literary interest, as they are composed throughout in elegant Sanskrit poetry. Among the *praśastis* found in Chambā only that of Sarāhaṇ is complete. Outside Chambā, I may mention the two *praśastis* of Baijnāth and that of Bhavan in Kāṅgṛā, besides the Trilōknāth one in Maṇḍi Town. These all record the foundation of temples in which they are still preserved. A record of consecration of a peculiar kind is the platform (*cabūtrā*) inscription of Chambā City, which states that a pīpal tree (Skr. *aśvattha*) was planted and a platform built by a certain Brāhmaṇ, on Wednesday, the 28th March A.D. 1660.[1]

Fountain inscriptions.

A very important sub-division of this class are the large carved fountain-slabs, very numerous in certain parts of Chambā, and apparently peculiar to that State. The only place outside Chambā where I have met with stones of this kind is Sisu on the Candrā river in British Lahul. These were first noticed by the traveller Moorcroft on his ill-fated journey to Bukhārā. "Between the first and second village of Sisu," that author[2] relates, "we crossed the Sisu river, a narrow torrent rushing down with a force which must wear away the most compact rock. Growing near it was the variety of currant which I had observed at Niti. On the summit of the ascent from the water a flat stone, sculptured with figures and flowers, was set up on the right of the path." Mr. A. H. Francke informs me that in other villages of British Lahul also

[1] Cf. above, p. 22.

[2] Moorcroft *Travels*. Vol. I. p. 194.

similar slabs are found, but no inscribed specimen has hitherto come to light outside

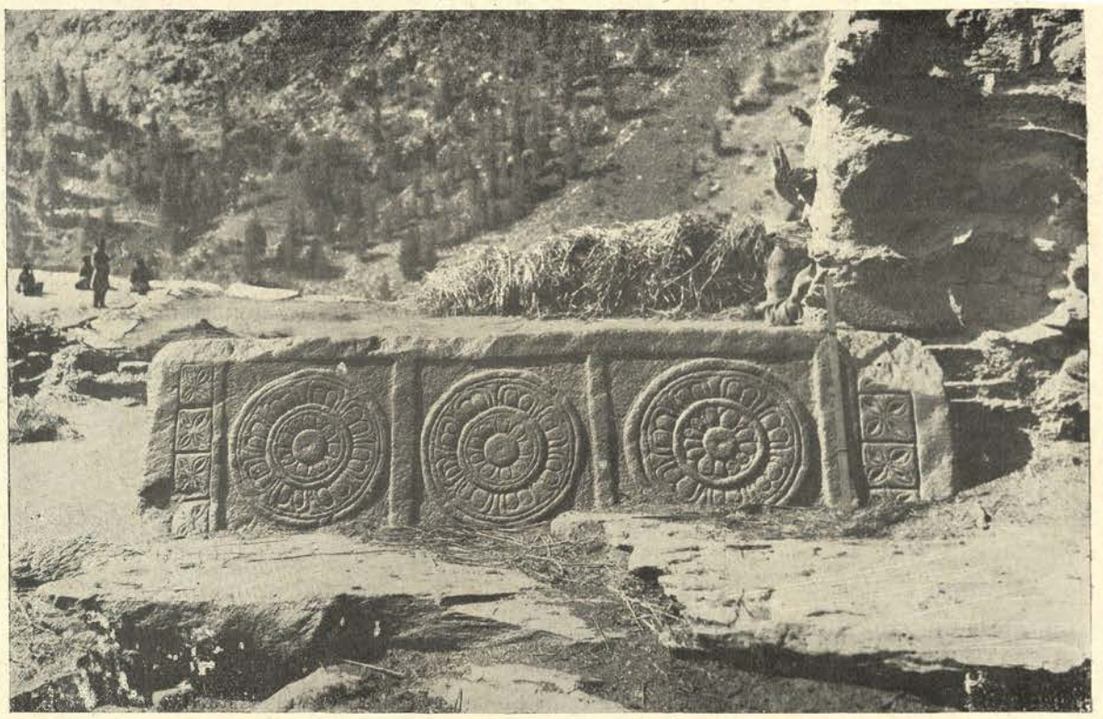
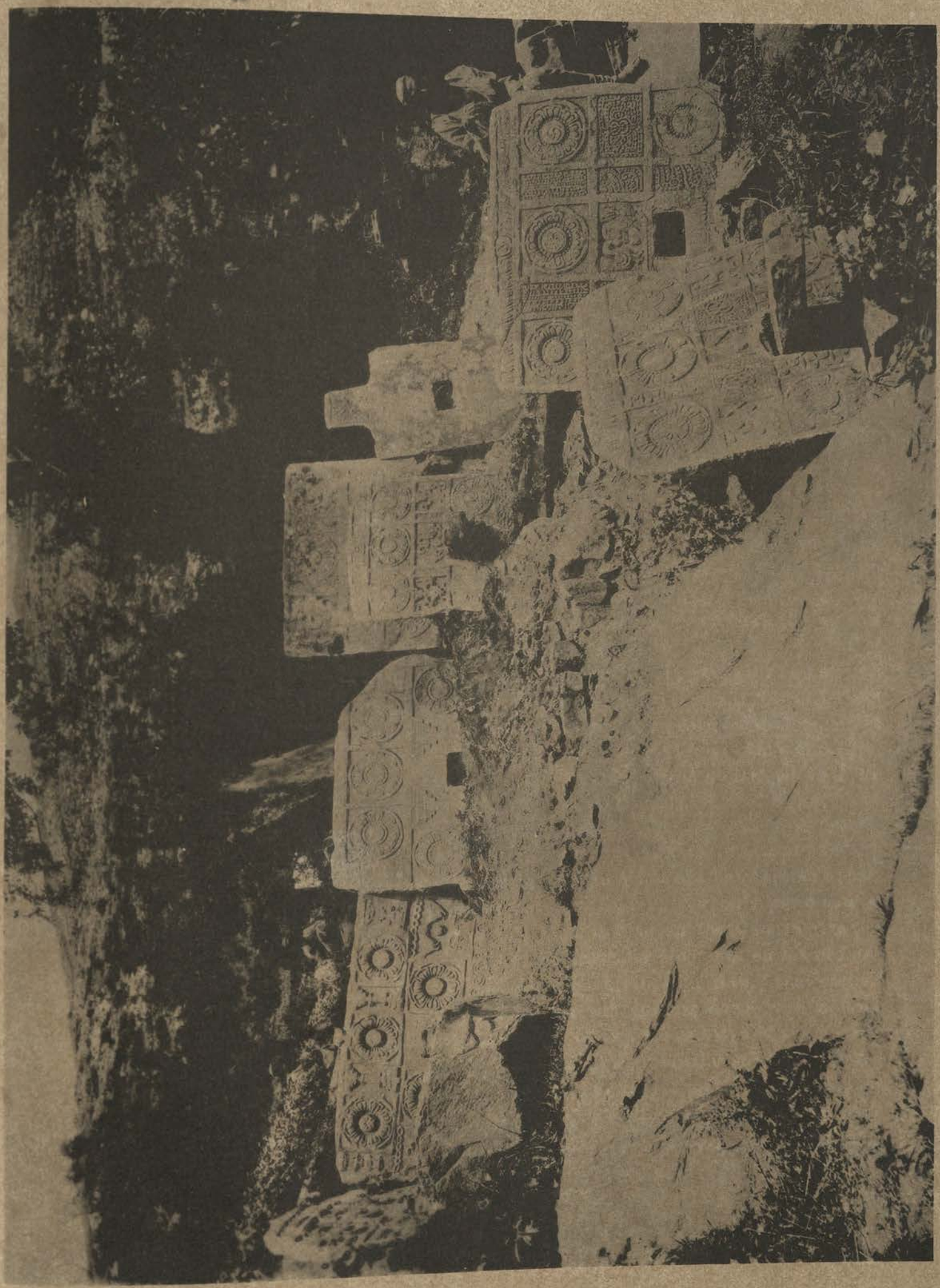


Fig. 12. Brāhmaṇ-kōṭhī Fountain-stone.

Chambā. On entering Chambā from British Lahul, a specimen may be seen at Brāhmaṇ-kōṭhī (map Bamankoti, local name Sindvāṛī), the first village in State territory. At Trilōknāth, the famous Buddhist place of pilgrimage in Chambā-Lahul, there are several of these slabs, but none of them bears an inscription. The best example is found at Oñar, ¼ mile east of the *caugān*. They are very frequently met with in *wazārat* Pāṅgī, especially round Kilāṛ, and are sometimes collected in considerable numbers on one spot (plate IV). Two inscribed stones of particular interest are found in this province, one at Sālhī in the Sēcū valley and the other at Luj. The latter place is situated close to the Pāḍar border. In Pāḍar itself, however, carved fountain-slabs of this type do not occur; nor, as far as I know, in any other tracts lower down the Candrabhāgā river. In the valleys of the Jēhlam, Biās and Satluj such slabs seem to be wholly unknown.

In Curāh, the north-western province of Chambā, watered by the Syũhl river, such stones are exceedingly numerous. Of particular interest are those of Sai, Naghai and Ḍaḍvāṛ, all of which are inscribed. The Lōh-Ṭikrī *pargaṇā* is richest of all in fountain inscriptions, but unfortunately hardly any of them are complete.

In the Rāvī valley proper, fountain stones are found at many places from Brahmor down to Keri (map Kairi), but they are of much smaller size than those of Curāh and Pāṅgī, and do not bear inscriptions. One often finds several erected at one spring, for instance at Chatrāṛhī and at Brehi in the Basu *pargaṇā*. At the latter place there are four slabs, placed side by side, which are locally believed to have



Fountain Stones near Kilär (Päingi).

been made for the use of four different castes, the Rāṇās, the Rāṭhīs, the potters and the carpenters. At Tāgī and other villages in the same *pargaṇā* isolated stones may be seen (fig. 13). At Luḍu, 4 miles from the town on the road to Jamvâr, no less than nine slabs of various sizes were found at one spring; they have all been placed in the State Museum (Cat. Nos. A. 19-27). In the city itself a broken fountain stone was uncarthed in the summer of 1906 and has likewise been deposited in the Museum (Cat. No. A. 18).

Fig. 13. Fountain-stone at Tāgī (*pargaṇā* Basu).

The fountain-slabs of the Rāvī valley are usually carved with numerous rows of figures. Among these we find Viṣṇu sleeping on the serpent Śeṣa, Lakṣmī holding his feet, and the four-faced Brahmā seated on a lotus rising from Viṣṇu's navel. As the sleep of the Sun-god takes place in the rainy season, the scene is very appropriately chosen. Other common subjects are the nine *Grahas* (also frequently carved over the entrance of temples) and the ten *avatāras* or incarnations of Viṣṇu.

The figures in the lower rows, which are shown in the act of worshipping the *liṅga*, probably represent the donors of the sculptures.

On the large slabs of Pāṅgī and Curāh also we find commonly the upper portion occupied by rows of figures both of deities and mortals. Among the former Varuṇa, the god of the waters, in whose honour the stone was erected, takes a prominent place. On the Sālhī stone (plate XXXI) we find Śiva in the centre of the upper row, between Varuṇa, Indra, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, each seated on his particular *vāhana* and marked with an inscription. In the middle of the slab is a representation of Viṣṇu's sleep—a subject which, as just noted, regularly occurs on the fountain stones of the Rāvī valley. The rest of the Sālhī stone is occupied by eight female figures personifying the great rivers of Northern India. The name of each river is inscribed on the water-vessel which the figure holds in one hand.

At Sai also (plate XXXIV) each of the figures is named, but here only the upper row consists of divinities, the lower portion being reserved for human beings. Among the latter we find the person portrayed, for the sake of whose bliss the stone was set up. On the Naghai slab deities are apparently mixed with mortals, but here the figures are not marked with their names. It is possible that one of the figures represents the Rāṇī Mekhalā who is mentioned in the inscription. On the stones, which, judging from their inferior workmanship, belong to a later date, we find Varuṇa, still occupying his place of honour; but for the rest such stones are carved with clumsy figures of armed horsemen, archers, swordsmen and female water-carriers. Examples of this kind are the Baṭrūṇḍī and Nāḷ stones in the Chambā Museum (Cat. Nos. A. 12 and 17), both of which bear fragmentary inscriptions.

On most fountain slabs we find, besides figures, a fair amount of ornamental carvings. Among these the eight-petalled lotus-rosette is most prominent. On each side of the square hole intended to receive the water-spout there is often a dwarf-pilaster of very curious design. The rows of figures are frequently separated by bands of ornamental scrollwork and the whole of the carvings are usually enclosed within leaf and rope borders.

Among the fountain sculptures of Chambā State, there are several which do not contain any figures but are purely decorative. Usually the surface is divided into square panels each provided with a conventional lotus. I am inclined to think that slabs of this type are the earliest in date, but the inscriptions do not as yet enable us to class them chronologically. Among the three dated in the reign of Trailokyadeva, which belong to the first half of the 11th century, that of Bhakuṇḍ is a plain slab with no carvings at all, and that of Ḍaḍvāṛ has no other figure than Varuṇa, the rest of the carvings being decorative. The third one is that of Naghai, where the greater part of the carving is also decorative, though here we find a row of five figures, Varuṇa occupying the centre. The fountain slab of Sīyā, erected in the year of Āsaṭa's accession (c. A.D. 1070) is carved with decorative bands, and does not bear any figures except the effigy of Varuṇa and a pair of interlaced birds. On the Luj stone of the first year of Jāsaṭa (A.D. 1106), we find a wellnigh equal division of figures and decorative devices. Among the former we notice the horseman who regularly appears on the fountain slabs of a more decadent and presumably later type. That of Lōh-Ṭikrī, also of Jāsaṭa's reign, has only a lotus-rosette and decorative

borders. On the two specimens of the reign of Lalita-varman—those of Sālhī and Sai,[1] described above, which belong to the second half of the 12th century—the figures are decidedly more prominent. On that of Sālhī even the ornamental borders are absent. It would, therefore, seem that there has been a gradual development from plain stones with simple conventional lotus-flowers to the elaborate slabs crowded with figures. We must, however, assume that the nature of the carvings was largely dependent on the individual taste of the donor and the sculptor, as well as on the former's means and on the latter's ability.

It is noteworthy that in general the purely decorative carvings are executed with considerably greater skill than the figures, which are conspicuous chiefly for their clumsy appearance, rigid attitude and want of proportion. For this reason the specimens which bear exclusively decorative carvings are, from an artistic point of view, the most satisfactory.

When the slabs bear inscriptions, these are either incised on the raised rim running horizontally between the rows of figures and decorative bands, or cut on one or two plain rectangular panels placed in the centre or at the two ends of the slab. The latter is mostly the case with those found in the neighbourhood of Lōh-Ṭikrī in the Cāñju valley.

The slabs here described are commonly set up against the steep hill slope, at places where water flows down or gushes forth from the rock. A stone spout, sometimes ornamentally carved, is fixed in a square opening in the centre of the stone, to allow the water to flow through. In some instances we find in front of the large slab a cistern built with three smaller stones, likewise adorned with carvings. This must have been the case at Luj, Sālhī and Naghai where the enclosing stones are still extant and partly *in situ*.

Purpose and origin of fountain slabs.

As to the purpose of these fountain slabs, the inscriptions leave no doubt that their erection was looked upon less as a work of general utility than as a meritorious act, designed to secure future bliss to the founder and his relatives. The person for whose sake the stone was set up, either a deceased wife or husband, is often mentioned by name in the inscription. Thus the Naghai stone was erected for the sake of the bliss in the next world of Rāṇī Mekhalā, that of Sai for the sake of Rāṇautrā Phāhi. In other fountain inscriptions of the Curāh *wazārat* the donor states that he erected the stone "fearing with the fear of mundane existence" (Skr. *saṁsāra-bhaya-bhītena*). The slab itself is invariably designated as a Varuṇa-deva, *i.e.*, "a god Varuṇa" for the obvious reason that Varuṇa, the patron of the waters, is usually carved on it. This name is no longer remembered. In Lahul stones of this kind are known as *nauṛ* (probably the same as Pahāṛī *naun*), in Pāṅgī they are indicated by the name of *naun*. In the Rāvī valley they do not seem to have any special appellation, except that of *panhiyār*, a name commonly applied to all fountains, whether they are provided with carved slabs or not.

[1] The date of the Sai inscription is uncertain.

Nor does there seem to exist any certain tradition regarding their origin, date and purpose. Sometimes they are connected with the Nāgas. At Kuās above Kilāṛ there are two fine springs known as Barsār Nāg and Nāganī. At both, fountain stones have been erected, some of which show traces of inscriptions. Those at Trilōknāth in Lahul are locally asserted to have been set up in honour of the Nāga. In epigraphs, however, no mention whatever is made of these demi-gods, so prominent in the popular religion of the Hills. Sometimes these huge stones with their quaint figures and mysterious characters—unintelligible even to the learned Paṇḍit—are looked upon with superstitious dread, and the villagers are often reluctant to give information regarding their whereabouts, for fear that some evil may spring from it.

Fig. 14. Fountain-stone at Kuās above Kilāṛ.

It is, therefore, the more gratifying that the stones themselves readily yield us their forgotten history. Most of them belong to a time when Curāh and Pāṅgī were inhabited by numerous petty chieftains or Rāṇās dependent on the Rājā of Chambā. It was they who erected these slabs, on which their names and those of their father and grandfather are usually recorded, together with that of the Rājā to whom they owed allegiance. We may, therefore, assume that at most places where fountain-slabs occur, there once stood the stronghold of a Rāṇā. I must add that our inscriptions show a few instances of such stones having been erected by Brāhmaṇs; but those are as a rule of a less elaborate type. One, that of Bhakuṇḍ, bears merely an inscription without any carvings.

The fountain inscriptions are of great importance for local history, as in most cases they are fully dated, both according to the era then in use and in the regnal year of the ruler of the time. Thus the Luj and Sālhī stones have rendered it

possible to fix the year of accession of two Chambā Rājās of the 12th century. There are, however, two circumstances which considerably detract from their historical value. The inscriptions are, as a rule, composed in very ungrammatical Sanskrit, sometimes intermixed with vernacular terms, which often renders their detailed interpretation doubtful. In some instances (*e.g.*, the Sālhī inscription) the particulars of the date appear to be incorrectly noted.

What makes matters worse, is their frequently fragmentary condition. Placed against the hill slope without any shelter or support, these slabs were often thrown down by avalanches, or upset by the pressure of the earth behind them, and subsequently buried under the deposits of the rivulets. The spout-stone fixed in the earth behind caused the slab to break in its fall and in this manner many a stone may have become completely lost. Sometimes it has happened that, owing to long exposure, the inscriptions became defaced or wholly obliterated; and in a few cases such slabs are said to have been wilfully smashed for utilitarian purposes. Fragments have been found in walls or steps belonging to dwelling-houses. Mostly, however, it was merely their position which was the cause of their ruin. Thus among the numerous inscribed stones of this kind hardly any specimen has come to light, of which the inscription and carving have remained entirely uninjured.

Fig. 15. Copper-plate of Yugākara.

Copper-plate inscriptions.

I have treated the Chambā fountain-inscriptions at some length, on account of their peculiar character. Inscriptions on copper-plates, the last class to be discussed, are known to occur in most parts of India, and indeed must at one time have been in use all over the Indian Continent. The custom of engraving title-deeds of pious donations on copper is referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien and must therefore have existed in the 5th century of our era. Nor was this the only use such plates were put to. It is

recorded that after the third Buddhist council the sacred scriptures were engraved on copper-plates and deposited in a *stūpa* by order of king Kaniṣka. This tradition derives some credit from the fact that in some of the *stūpas* of ancient Takṣaśilā—the Taxila of the Greeks—inscribed plates of copper, silver and gold have been discovered.[1]

With the exception of those from Takṣaśilā, that of Suë Vihār (Bahāwalpur) and the Nirmaṇḍ title-deed, the Panjāb has yielded no ancient copper-plate inscriptions; though at one time they must have been not less numerous here than in other parts of India. This may be inferred from the large number of such inscriptions found in Chambā State. I have been able in the course of my researches to collect no less than eighty-two copper-plate inscriptions, of which five belong to the pre-Muhammadan and seventy-seven[2] to the Muhammadan period. I have excluded those posterior to the reign of Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh (A.D. 1641-64). Among the seventy-seven plates of the later period there are forty-two issued by Rājā Balabhadra, who still lives in local tradition as the paragon of pious munificence. As the custom of issuing such documents was kept up till the end of the last century, and several specimens of each of the later Rājās are known to exist, the total number of copper-plates in Chambā State may be safely estimated at nearly a hundred and fifty. But imposing as this number may appear, the preponderance of plates of the later period only shows, how few in number the earlier plates that have come down to us are, as compared with those which have been lost.

The copper-plate inscriptions which will be edited in the course of this work are, all but one, title-deeds recording donations of land. The only exception is a plate, issued by Rājā Balabhadra and dated Śāstra 75, Vikrama 1656 (A.D. 1599), which records the appointment of the Brāhmaṇ Īśvara as his family-priest. It is in the possession of his descendant, the present *purohit*. I may note parenthetically that among the documents of later date there is a copper-plate containing a treaty between Rājā Rāj Siṅgh of Chambā and Rājā Saṁsār Cand Kaṭōc, the famous ruler of Kāṅgṛā. It is dated from the latter's camp at Nadaun in the Vikrama year 1845, Jeṭh, *pra.* 25. This plate is kept in the State Museum and numbered B. 36. It is possible that, at an earlier period also, political documents of this kind were engraved on metal, but no other specimens have hitherto been recovered.

Donors and Donees.

As to the common type of copper-plate inscriptions, *i.e.*, those recording donations of land—the donor is usually the ruler of the time or one of his relatives. It is well-known that, according to Hindū law, the king is regarded as the exclusive owner of land. It is curious that among the plates of Pṛthvī Siṅgh's reign there are two[3] issued by his nurse whose name, Dāi Baṭlō, is still remembered in Chambā. In the title-deeds she is called "Dhātrī Baṭulā Dēvī" and "Śrī-Dhātrī Baṭulā." Presumably she granted the land out of the *Jāgīr* which is usually bestowed on the Rājā's *dāi*. The donees are either Brāhmaṇs or temples. Among the Chambā copper-plate grants there are

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.* Vol. II. p. 125.

[2] Three of these plates were discovered outside Chambā territory. One belongs to the *purōhit* of the Rājā of Nūrpur, the other two to Hakim Braj Lāl of Jvālāmukhī in the Kāṅgṛā District.

[3] The two plates in question are both dated in the Vikrama year 1702, Śāstra 21 (A.D. 1645), one in Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* and the other in Māgha *śu. ti.* 7.

only three which are bestowed on gods, one—the oldest of all—on Narsiṅgh at Brahmor, the second on three temples in Chambā City, and the third on Cāmuṇḍā Dēvī at Mindhal in Pāṅgī. It should be noted that the title-deed is actually issued in favour of the deity, whose image the temple contains and that, in case the idol is removed to another building, it retains its grant of land. It goes without saying that most of the benefit falls to the share of the Brāhmaṇ priests attached to the shrine.

The merit of bestowing gifts on the twice-born has from ancient days been emphasized both in sacred and secular literature; but land was occasionally presented to non-Brāhmaṇs who had rendered service to the ruler of the State. There exists a copper-plate at Dantuhi (map Dante) at the foot of the Drātī Pass which was issued by Rājā Balabhadra to four brothers of the Kakaṛ[1] caste, *viz.*, non-Brāhmaṇs. It is dated Śāstra 94, Vikrama 1675 (A.D. 1618). Sir Lepel Griffin[2] also quotes the instance of a copper-plate grant issued in *Saṁvat* 1584 (A.D. 1527) by Rājā Ajbar Sēn of Maṇḍi to a Khatrī, Madhusūdan by name, whose three brothers had been slain in a battle fought against the Rāṇās. We also read in one of our earliest Chambā copper-plate inscriptions (No. 25) of land being enjoyed by Queen Rarḍhā, the wife of Rājā Sālavāhana. But gifts of this kind were only granted for a period depending on the donor's pleasure and not exceeding the lifetime of the donee. There was consequently no need of recording such gifts on durable metal. The donations to Brāhmaṇs, on the contrary, were made in perpetuity, "to be enjoyed by son and son's son for as long as the moon and the sun shall endure." Heavenly joy was to be the reward of the pious donor, but terrible punishment awaited him who should confiscate the land thus given. "Who takes the property of a Brāhmaṇ, given either by himself or by others, for sixty thousands of years will he be born as a worm in the dirt." "He who confiscates what he himself has given will be a blind man for twelve existences, a hog for ten existences and a leper for twelve existences." "Mounted on a divine chariot drawn by geese, the giver of land goes to the world of the gods; in a pot full of boiling oil the robber thereof sees the messenger of Death."

Stanzas of this kind are invariably found at the end of each title-deed. They have, in Chambā at least, had the result—gratifying to the antiquarian—that the donations have been preserved, as well as the copper-plates on which they are recorded. I doubt whether in any other part of India an instance could be quoted of lands, granted nearly a thousand years ago, being still enjoyed by the descendants of the original donee. This is the case with the copper-plate grant of Vidagdha, the grandson of Sāhilla the founder of Chambā, who lived in the 10th century of our era; and I refer to it not merely as a curiosity, but as a matter of special interest for the study of ancient topography. There can, of course, be no doubt whatever that the village of Sumaṅgala, mentioned in that plate, is represented by the modern Suṅgaḷ, in the vicinity of which the land is situated.

Auspicious occasions.

Grants of land to Brāhmaṇs or temples were, as we have seen, considered meritorious under all circumstances. But the coincidence of certain astronomical phenomena was supposed to enhance

[1] As a generic name the word *kakaṛ* means "barking deer."

[2] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, 2nd edition, London 1873, p. 575. Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, p. 121.

the merit of the gift. Thus we find some of our copper-plate grants dated on the occasion of a solar eclipse or of the hibernal solstice (Skr. *Makara-saṁkrānti*). We find an instance of each in two of the copper-plate grants published in the present volume. Such data are often important in calculating the date of the inscription, at least in case the date is that of the donation and not that at which the plate was issued. There are, however, two instances among the plates published here in which the date of the plate was evidently not that of the donation. In that of Soma-varman (No. 24) we read that the gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The date however is not Amāvāsyā (New Moon) but *śu. ti.* 3. In the grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25, l. 27) it is definitely stated that the date of the inscription is that on which the charter was furnished (*paṭṭakam idaṁ saṁpāditam*). The procedure followed in Chambā until recently was as follows :—A paper *sanad* was issued at once at the time of the donation, and on the copper-plate, prepared subsequently, the original date was retained.

Grants of land were also made on solemn occasions such as the consecration of a temple or other building, or when some happy event had occurred calculated to stimulate the ruler's generosity. Thus Janārdana, the son of Rājā Balabhadra and his co-regent for several years, made a donation at the birth of his son Pṛthvī Siṅgh, which is dated Vikrama 1676, Śāstra 95 (A.D. 1619-20). It is said that grants used to be made by the Rājās of Chambā at their accession, but our documents do not point to the existence of such a custom. We find, however, that the family priest was sometimes rewarded with a gift of land, after having taken the bones of the deceased Rājā to the Ganges and performed the Śrāddha. An instance of this is afforded by a copper-plate of Rājā Saṁgrāma-varman dated Śāstra 22 (A.D. 1446).[1]

From the plates existing in Chambā it is evident that the following three dignitaries were the first to benefit by the Rājā's munificence:—his spiritual preceptor (*rājaguru*), his family priest (*purōhit*) and the Court astrologer (*jyōtiṣī*). Their offices were of course hereditary, so that the present incumbents are in possession of a respectable number of copper-plates. It was the Rājaguru who used to be charged with the duty of drawing up the grant and whose name is commonly found at the end. This, at least, was the custom during the Muhammadan period. Thus we find the name of Paṇḍit Surānand on some of the plates of Gaṇeśa-varman, that of his son Ramāpati on those of Pratāp Siṅgh, and that of Ramāpati's son Lakṣmīkānt on most of the plates of Balabhadra.

Among the numerous copper-plate grants of Rājā Balabhadra (A.D. 1589-1641) there is one issued in favour of Byās, the *guru* of the Rājā of Nūrpur, for certain services rendered or to be rendered, which are not clearly set forth, but may have had some bearing on the difficulties which at that time existed between Chambā and Nūrpur. It is dated Vaiśākha *pra.* 13, Śāstra 94 (A.D. 1618). It is curious that this is exactly the year when Sūraj Mall of Nūrpur, the eldest son and successor of Rājā Bāsu, rebelled against Jahāngīr and was obliged to take refuge in Chambā where he died.

[1] The passage in question runs: *Baṛe Rāe Bhoṭ-varme de ast Baṛu Leghe Gaṅga i prabāh-kari dyī. hor catur barkhe śrādh baṛe Rāe de hoya, Śrī Rāe Saṁgrām-varme ṭika leā, ini prakār kari Śrī-Rāe Saṁgrām-varme Baṛue Leghe ki śāsaṇ dite.*

The astrologer of the Rājā of Chambā is in possession of a copper-plate grant issued to one of his ancestors by Amṛt Pāl, the chief of the neighbouring State of Basōhlī in A.D. 1774. It appears that at that time the Basōhlī Rājā had invaded Chambā. Another instance of a grant made to the *guru* of a neighbouring chief is afforded by the copper-plate inscription of Bahādur Siṅgh of Kuḷū, mentioned above, which records a grant of land to Paṇḍit Ramāpati, the *guru* of the Chambā Rājā. The donation was made on the occasion of the marriage of Bahādur Siṅgh's three daughters, presumably with the heir-apparent of Chambā.

Characteristics.

We have remarked above that the copper-plates of the pre-Muhammadan period are few in number. We possess one of Yugākara-varman, the son of Sāhilla, and one of Yugākara's son Vidagdha. These two presumably belong to the 10th century of our era. The remaining three plates of the pre-Muhammadan period date from the second half of the 11th century. One was issued by Soma-varman, the second by Soma-varman and Asaṭa combined, and the third by Āsaṭa alone. These five plates are being edited in the present volume, together with a spurious plate which, though ascribed to Vidagdha, is evidently a forgery of much later date. It would seem, however, that, partly at least, it was copied from a genuine document which has since disappeared.

Of the 12th and 13th centuries not a single copper-plate inscription has come to light, though there is no reason to assume that the rulers of that period were less generous than their predecessors and successors. Of Rājā Vijaya-varman, who must have ruled about A.D. 1200, the *Vaṁśāvalī* (śl. 87) distinctly states that he made grants of villages to Brāhmaṇs. From the beginning of the 14th century there begins a fresh series of copper-plate charters which is continued without interruption down to the present day. There exists a very obvious difference between the pre-Muhammadan copper-plate inscriptions and those of the Muhammadan period. The former are neatly engraved on good-sized copper-plates and are composed throughout in Sanskrit. The plates of the 14th and 15th centuries are very poor documents, both as regards scholarship and technical execution. In the 16th century we notice a marked improvement, perhaps due to the revival of Hindū civilization under the benign rule of Akbar. The charters of this period exhibit greater knowledge on the part of the writer and greater skill on that of the artisan. Nearly all plates of the Muhammadan period, however, are partly in the vernacular; which circumstance, though adding to their linguistic interest, at the same time points to a decline of Sanskrit learning. The vernacular portion, introduced by the formula *atha bhāṣā*, is that part of the document in which the boundaries of the granted land are described. It was, of course, essential that such passages should be intelligible to local officials who did not possess any knowledge of Sanskrit. Besides, the difficulty of finding Sanskrit equivalents to render local topographical terms is manifest from some of the pre-Muhammadan plates, in which the frequent use of sanskritized vernacular words in these passages often renders their interpretation extremely difficult.

In one respect the charters of the later period are superior to the earlier ones. Nearly all of them are very fully dated both in the local and in some other era, and

thus enable us to fix the approximate dates of all the Chambā Rājās from the 14th century onwards. The pre-Muhammadan plates are dated in the regnal year of the ruling chief, so that their date can only be approximately fixed with the aid of other epigraphical or literary documents. This point will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Geographical distribution.

As to the geographical distribution of the copper-plates, it deserves notice that they have been found almost exclusively in the Rāvī valley. In Lahul not a single specimen has come to light; in Pāṅgī only one is known to exist—that granted by Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh to Cāmuṇḍā Devī of Mindhal. In the Curāh division comparatively few copper-plates are found, all belonging to the Muhammadan period. In the Rāvī valley proper, on the contrary, such documents are exceedingly numerous. The pre-Muhammadan plates all belong to this region.

It will be seen that the number of copper-plates in the various parts of Chambā stands in inverse proportion to that of the fountain inscriptions described above. The latter, as we have pointed out, are the records of feudatory chiefs called Rāṇās or Ṭhākurs. It is obvious that the Rājā could only grant lands which were under his direct control. Thus the distribution of fountain inscriptions and of copper-plate grants points to the same conclusion. The Rāvī valley was from a very remote period—almost from the foundation of the present State—under the direct rule of the Rājā, whereas Curāh, Pāṅgī and Lahul remained for a long time in the hands of the Rāṇās. The greater part of Lahul is indeed held by a Ṭhākur up to the present day.

Religious character.

The above will suffice to show the great variety of the Chambā inscriptions. All these documents, however, have one main feature in common. They have, almost without exception, a religious purport which is definitely stated in the inscription itself. As to those recording the consecration of temples or images, this is obvious. In the inscription on the brazen bull of Brahmor it is specially stated that the founder, Meru-varman, meant to increase the spiritual fruit of his parents and himself by building a Śiva temple and placing an image of the vehicle of that deity in front. The erection of the statue of Śakti Devī at Chatrāṛhī by the same ruler seems to have been in fulfilment of a pious vow; for we read in the inscription, incised on its pedestal, that it was founded after Meru-varman had conquered his foes in their invincible castles, no doubt with the powerful help of the goddess. A parallel instance of more recent date of such a votive offering may be quoted from the neighbouring hill tract of Kuḷū. The temple of Hiḍimbā Devī at Dhuṅgri near Manālī, with its quaint wood carvings, was built by Rājā Bahādur Siṅgh in the year A.D. 1553 after his conquest of the valley, in fulfilment of a solemn promise made previously to her—the patron-goddess of Kuḷū. At the end of the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* it is naively related that the chief Sātyaki dedicated a fane to the moon-crowned Śiva in order to establish a firm friendship between his wife, the beauteous Somaprabhā, and Śiva's spouse, the Mountain-daughter Durgā.

The fountain of Devī-rī-kōṭhī was built by Balhā, the widow of the local Rāṇā, for the benefit of her deceased lord. That of Mūl-Kihār seems to have been

constructed by the husband and children of the noble Śūramati to allay the grief caused by her death. The carved fountain-slabs so numerous in Curāh and Pāṅgī, as we learn from some of their inscriptions, served a similar purpose. Both the Sālhī and Naghai stones were erected by the local baron for the sake of the future bliss of his wife. That of Sai was set up for the sake of the Rāṇā's son (*? rāṇautrā*), Phāhi, whose effigy is carved on the slab.

The donations of land to Brāhmaṇs and temples, recorded on copper-plates, had likewise, as already stated, the character of pious acts calculated to increase the religious merit of the donor. We read in Vidagdha's copper-plate inscription, that he granted the land "for the sake of spiritual merit and for the increase of the glory of his parents and himself, for the sake of the bliss of the next world and in order to cross the ocean of existence."

The sacred associations attaching to all our inscriptions have in a large degree contributed to preserve them. Where inscriptions have become destroyed, this has been mostly due to the forces of nature. I have met with only a few cases in which inscribed stones had been wantonly destroyed or appropriated for building purposes. The destruction of the Mūl-Kihār and Batrūṇḍī inscriptions is said to have happened at the time of the invasion of Amṛt Pāl of Basōhlī.

Historical value.

On the other hand, the essentially religious nature of the epigraphs shows at once their limitations as historical records. Practically none of the inscriptions recovered in Chambā—except perhaps the Proḷī-rā-gaḷā rock-inscription—are intended to perpetuate the remembrance of a historical event. In some of the copper-plates, it is true, mention is made of the wars waged by Sāhilla, but this is only incidental. It is merely an episode in the eulogy devoted to the great ancestor of the generous donor of the grant. The historically important points—the names of Sāhilla's allies and adversaries, the time and place of the battles fought by him—are omitted. Instead, we have long strings of words which do credit to the author's knowledge of Indian rhetoric, but fail to contribute to our knowledge of Indian history.

Chapter III.—THE CHARACTER.

Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī.

There can be little doubt that in the centuries immediately preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, the inhabitants of the Rāvī valley employed both the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters. The use of these two scripts in the neighbouring Biās valley during that period is proved by the Paṭhyār and Kaṇhiārā rock-inscriptions[1] found in the north-east corner of the Kāṅgṛā district not far from the Chambā border. Both are foundation inscriptions of the most primitive kind, consisting of a noun indicating the object founded—in one case a tank (*pukarinī*), in the other either a convent or a garden (*ārāma*)—and the name of the founder in the genitive case. These two words are given both in Brāhmī and in Kharoṣṭhī, but in each case a third word, apparently a caste-name, is added to one of the two legends—at Paṭhyār to the Kharoṣṭhī and at Kaṇhiārā to the Brāhmī. Both these rock inscriptions were at one time situated within Chambā territory. The Paṭhyār inscription I discovered in 1901 near the fort of the same name, which during part of the 18th century was garrisoned by Chambā troops. That of Kaṇhiārā is found in the Rihlu *'ilāqa* which formed part of Chambā territory until A.D. 1821, when it was seized by Raṇjīt Siṅgh. As, however, both these inscriptions date back to a period far anterior to the foundation of the State, I have thought it unnecessary to include them in the present volume.

Earliest inscriptions.

Within the present limits of the Chambā State, the earliest epigraphs hitherto discovered are the Panali Nālā rock inscriptions (Nos. 1-4). Next in date are the four image inscriptions of Meru-varman (Nos. 5-8) and the slab inscription of his feudatory, Sāmanta Aṣāḍha, (No. 9) which are written in the ornamental nail-head type which succeeded the Gupta character and was used all over Northern India. It is the same script which we find on the base of the Vajra-varāhī image of Caṛī (map Chari) in the Kāṅgṛā district, and in those of Piñjaur.[2] Numerous instances could be quoted from other parts of India. Cunningham assigns the Caṛī image inscription to the 7th or 8th century, but the use of the tripartite *ya* makes me think that it is earlier.

The Tur rock-inscriptions (No. 10) are in the same character. The Proḷī-rā-gaḷā rock inscription of Rājā Mṛtyuñjaya (No. 11), and the Swāiṁ image inscription of Rājānaka Bhogaṭa (No. 12), form a transition from the acute-angled type to the Śāradā.

Śāradā.

All remaining epigraphs (Nos. 13-50) edited in the present volume, except No. 50, are written in the Śāradā character. The term "Śāradā"—I may at once note—is now-a-days unknown in Chambā and the character itself is no longer used. Notwithstanding frequent inquiries, I have not succeeded in tracing a single ancient Śāradā

[1] Cf. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. No. 16, pp. 116 ff. I may note here that Paṭhyār is situated six miles south-east (not nine miles south) of Kaṇhiārā. Instead of "lotus-pond" read "tank."

[2] *A. S. R.* Vol. V, p. 177, plate XLII and Vol. XIV, p. 72, plate XXII. The inscribed pedestal of the Vajra-varāhī image of Caṛī has disappeared.

manuscript in Chambā. The paṇḍits read and write Nāgarī, whilst the popular alphabet is the Hill Ṭākarī or Tā̃kri which will be discussed in the course of this chapter. Among the Chambā paṇḍits I have met only one who can read the later Śāradā (or *Devāśeṣa*, as he himself calls it) used in the title-deeds of the Muhammadan period.

"The name *Śāradākṣarāṇi*," Bühler[1] remarks, "means either letters sacred to Śāradā, *i.e.* Sarasvatī, or it may be taken as the letters which are Sarasvatī, *i.e.* (visible) speech. Śāradā is considered one of the tutelary deities of the country (Kaśmīr) which is frequently named after her *Śāradā-deśa* or *Śāradā-maṇḍala*. In India, too, writing in general is called *Sarasvatī* or *Sarasvatī-mukha*, "the face of the goddess of speech."[2] It would seem, therefore, that the term Śāradā used by the paṇḍits of Kaśmīr, originated in that country. It is not improbable that there the script denoted by that name was also first elaborated.

Geographical extension.

Bühler[3] observes that the Śāradā script appears from about A.D. 800 in Kaśmīr and in the north-eastern Panjāb (Kāṅgṛā and Chambā). "The oldest known Śāradā inscriptions," he says, "are the two Baijnāth Praśastis from Kīragrāma (Kāṅgṛā) dated A.D. 804. Not much later are the coins of the Varma dynasty of Kaśmīr, where the Śāradā forms are likewise fully developed. And it is not improbable that the Bakhshali Manuscript, found in the Yūsufzai district, belongs to the same or even a somewhat earlier period." I may point out that the true date of the Baijnāth *praśastis* is not Śaka 726 (A.D. 804), as Bühler, at the instance of Cunningham, assumed, but Śaka 1126 (A.D. 1204). Regarding the date of this inscription the late Professor Kielhorn[4] remarked: "In my opinion, the most important question to be answered in connection with that date is, whether the first figure of the Śaka year in the date of the second *praśasti* is 7 or not. Sir A. Cunningham and Professor Bühler say that it is; and if they are right, the *laukika* year 80 of the date of the first *praśasti* should, according to what we know at present of the Saptarṣi era, no doubt, correspond to Śaka 726 expired. But the first of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha did not fall on a Sunday, the day of the week given in the date, in Śaka 726 expired, nor in fact in any of the eight years from Śaka 722 to 729 expired. If, on the other hand, we were not restricted by the date of the second *praśasti* to any particular century of the Śaka era, I would say that the *laukika* year 80 of the first *praśasti* must correspond to Śaka 1126 expired, because, of all the expired 26th years of the centuries of the Śaka era, from Śaka 626 to Śaka 1426, only the year 1126 yields the desired Sunday (the 2nd May, A.D. 1204). And I should not be prevented by anything in the contents of the inscription and the language of the author, or in the alphabet employed, from assigning the inscription to so late a period." I may add that, independently of Professor Kielhorn's researches, a close examination of the inscription has led me to the conclusion that the date noted

[1] *Kaśmīr Report*, p. 31. Cf. also Stein, *Rājat.* Vol. II, p. 286.

[2] I should prefer to render it as "the mouth of Sarasvatī," *viz.*, that through which Sarasvatī reveals herself. Compare the expression *gurmukhī*, i.e., the script through which the *guru* speaks.

[3] *Ind. Pal.* p. 56 (English p. 57).

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX (1891), p. 154. Cf. also *A. R. A. S.* for 1905-06, p. 19 ff.

in the second *praśasti* is not 726 but 112[6], the last figure being effaced. The Baijnāth inscriptions, therefore, far from being the earliest Śāradā records, belong to a comparatively late period, as will be fully borne out in the subsequent discussion of their palæographical characteristics.

Biās valley.

Among other Śāradā inscriptions found in the Kāṅgṛā valley, there is none which can be dated with certainty, except the eulogy[1] of the goddess Jvālāmukhī in the famous temple of Vajreśvarī or Mātā Devī at Bhavan, the suburb of Kāṅgṛā town. It is dated in the reign of Rājā Saṁsāra-Candra I of Kāṅgṛā and of his overlord Muḥammad Sayyid, Emperor of Delhi (A.D. 1433-46). It should be noted that only the first two lines and part of the third line, containing the *maṅgala* and the first stanza, are in Śāradā, whereas the rest of the inscription is written in Nāgarī. This shows that in the 15th century both characters were used side by side in the Kāṅgṛā District. The same is proved, for the end of the 13th century, by a Nāgarī inscription[2] on a stone pedestal which must have belonged to a stone statuette of the Jina Mahāvīra, and is now placed in the back niche of the temple of Baijnāth. It is dated [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1296, Phālguna *ba. ti.* 5, Sunday, which corresponds to the 15th January, A.D. 1240.

It is very curious to find the Śāradā and Nāgarī alphabets used simultaneously in Kāṅgṛā, just as at a much earlier period was the case with Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī.

In the Kuḷū subdivision we have found no inscriptions anterior to the reign of Bahādur Siṅgh who lived in the middle of the 16th century. In the neighbouring Hill State of Maṇḍi there is a Śāradā inscription dated Śaka-saṁvat 1442, Kaliyuga 4622 (A.D. 1520) in the temple of Śiva Trilōknāth in Purānī Maṇḍi. Still later are the Maṇḍi *Satī* pillars, the oldest of *saṁvat* 13 (A.D. 1637), which have been described by Cunningham.[3] These inscriptions, though of a comparatively late date, prove that the Śāradā character was once used in the whole Biās valley.

Satluj valley.

In the Satluj valley no Śāradā inscriptions have come to my notice, but considering the close connection of Kuḷū and Maṇḍi with Sukhēt and Kalūhr, it is very probable that at one time Śāradā was used there also. It is of interest to note that a fragmentary *praśasti*,[4] discovered in 1903 in the Sirmor State and now preserved in the Lahore Museum, is written not in Śāradā, but in an early type of Nāgarī. We may, therefore, assume that the Śāradā character is not found east of the Satluj valley.

Rāvī valley.

There can be little doubt that in the Rāvī valley Śāradā was exclusively used. But it is curious that in the Chambā copper-plate grants of the Muhammadan period the Rājā's seal is engraved in Nāgarī, whereas the charter itself is invariably written in the late form of Śāradā, locally called Devāśeṣa. The earliest document, written throughout in

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[1] Cf. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I., pp. 190 ff. The temple was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 4th April 1905, but the inscription escaped, *vide* A. R. A. S. for 1905-06, pp. 16 f.

[2] Cf. *A. S. R.* Vol. V. p. 183, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 118 f. At present a stone image of Sūrya is placed on the Jaina pedestal.

[3] *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, p. 123, pl. XXIX and XXX.

[4] Cf. my *Annual Progress Report* for 1903-04, pp. 59 f.

Nāgarī, which I have seen in Chambā is a copper-plate grant of Rājā Rāj Siṅgh dated Śāstra 52, Vikrama 1833, Śaka 1698, Śrāvaṇa *śu. ti.* 8, Tuesday, corresponding to A.D. 1776. The contemporaneous charters of the Basōhlī Rājās Amṛt Pāl (Vikrama 1831, Śaka 1696 = A.D. 1774) and Bijai Pāl (Vikrama 1846, Śaka 1711 = A.D. 1789) are also written in Nāgarī.

Chināb valley.

In the Chināb valley a few Śāradā inscriptions have come to light. One I noticed in a ruined temple on the ancient site of Babor, the ancient Babbāpura, 17 miles east of Jammū, and another on a stone *liṅga* at Kaṣṭavār, the ancient Kāṣṭhavāṭa. Unfortunately both these inscriptions are almost completely defaced.

Jehlam valley.

The oldest Śāradā inscriptions in Kaśmīr, as Bühler remarks, are the legends on the coins of the Varman dynasty. Stone inscriptions are rare. The earliest specimen is the fragment of the reign of Queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1003), dated in the 68th year of the Saptarṣi era corresponding to A.D. 992-3. It was recovered by Dr. Leitner from the wall of a house at Śrīnagar and presented to the Lahore Museum (Cat. No. I, 10). All other Śāradā inscriptions in Kaśmīr which can be dated, belong to the Muhammadan period. A few have been found in Ladak also.[1]

Indus valley.

Thus we see that the Śāradā character was once extensively, and probably exclusively, used in the hill area watered by the five great rivers of the Panjāb. But further west also Śāradā inscriptions have come to light. The Bakhshalai manuscript[2] quoted by Bühler would not perhaps in itself afford conclusive proof of its use in the Peshāwar district. But the neighbouring district of Hazārā, the ancient Uraśā, and the adjoining hill tracts of Swāt and Buner, the ancient Udyāna, have yielded Śāradā inscriptions which are now preserved in the Lahore Museum. One inscription in that Museum (No. 153) is said to originate from Jalālābād in Afghanistan. The Peshāwar Museum also contains two Śāradā inscriptions of which the exact find-spot is unknown, but which in all probability belong to the Peshāwar or one of the neighbouring districts. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the Śāradā character was used in the ancient Gandhāra during the reign of the Shāhī dynasty and in the period immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest. An inscription from Ghagai north-east of Badwan in Swāt, now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. I, 94), is dated *saṁvat* 9 in the reign of Hammīra. By this name, in reality the sanskritized form of Arabic *amīr*, Maḥmūd of Ghaznī is usually designated, but it is also used to denote his successors. In the present case it seems to indicate his son Mas'ūd, as the year A.D. 1033, to which Śāstra-saṁvat 9 would correspond, would fall in his reign (A.D. 1031-1041).

Panjāb Plains.

There are indications that at one time Śāradā was used in the plains of the Panjāb also. A few years ago a fragmentary inscription in that character was discovered in Sabz Piṇḍ. It is now deposited in the Lahore Museum. A fact of much interest which only

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 381, pl. XXX and Francke, *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907), p. 52.

[2] *Seventh Oriental Congress: Aryan Section*, p. 133 and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII (1888), pp. 33 ff. and 275 ff.; with facsimiles.

lately has been recognised is that the Pālam well inscription, in the Delhi Museum of Archæology (Cat. No. B 3) is partly written in Śāradā. The concluding portion (part of line 21 and the whole of line 22) are in the vernacular—ancient Bāgṛī, as Dr. Grierson is inclined to assume—and for this passage Śāradā is used, whereas all the rest of the inscription which is composed in Sanskrit is written in Nāgarī. The vernacular portion was evidently added for the benefit of the common folk unacquainted with Sanskrit. This circumstance seems to indicate that at the time when this inscription was carved, Śāradā was the popular script used in and around Delhi, whereas Nāgarī was used by the learned. The Pālam inscription is dated in the reign of Balban, Vikrama-saṁvat 1337, Śrāvaṇa *ba. ti.* 13, Wednesday, which, according to Professor Kielhorn, corresponds either to 26th June 1280 or 13th August 1281.

It will be noticed that, considering the extent of the area over which Śāradā was once used, the epigraphical records in that character are by no means abundant. Moreover, a large percentage of these Śāradā inscriptions are more or less fragmentary or obliterated. Up to the year 1904 not a single specimen had been reproduced in facsimile,[1] not even the Baijnāth *praśastis* which have been known since 1875. Besides, there existed, as I have pointed out above, a misconception with regard to the date of these important inscriptions which has only recently been removed. Owing to these circumstances, it has been impossible up to the present to give a detailed history of the Śāradā script, though valuable suggestions have been made by Bühler, Hoernle, and other epigraphists.

Origin of the Śāradā.

The splendid series of epigraphical records, which of late years have come to light in Chambā, will enable us to trace the history of the Śāradā and its derivatives with greater confidence than the scanty material hitherto available would allow. With regard to its origin, we follow Bühler and Hoernle who describe it as a descendant of the western Gupta alphabet. We are now in a position to add that the Śāradā is not a direct descendant of the Gupta, but that an intermediate form is found in the earlier Chambā inscriptions Nos. 5-12 of the present volume. The character of these epigraphs does not essentially differ from that of Madhyadeśa which intervened between the Gupta and Nāgarī. On account of its curls, it used to be designated by the name of *kuṭila* for which term Bühler proposes to substitute that of "acute-angled" (spitzwinkelig).

It follows from the above that we cannot accept Hoernle's thesis[2] that "the elaboration of the so-called Śāradā alphabet may be placed about 500 A.D." Bühler[3] rightly points out that the Śāradā as an epigraphical script dates from the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century, though as a literary alphabet it may be considerably older. The earliest dateable documents in which the Śāradā appears are the coins of the Utpala (or Varman) dynasty of Kaśmīr which start from the middle of the 9th century. In the inscriptions of Meru-varman which probably date from the beginning of the 8th century we find the acute-angled type then in use all over Northern India.

[1] Recently a Śāradā inscription from Arigom in Kaśmīr has been published with a facsimile by Dr. Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 300 ff. It belongs to the reign of Rāmadeva of Kaśmīr and is dated Laukika-saṁvat 73, corresponding to A.D. 1197.

[2] *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LX (1891), p. 90.

[3] *Kaśmīr Report*, p. 31.

Development.

It must have taken not less than a century before this script developed into the Śāradā from which it differs so materially. The earliest Śāradā inscription of Chambā I consider to be the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13) which exhibits some singularly archaic forms. Unfortunately it is not dated, but I feel inclined to assign it to the 9th century. The earliest Śāradā inscriptions of Chambā, which can be approximately dated, are the copper-plate grants of Yugākara and Vidagdha, the immediate successors of Sāhilla, who may be safely placed in the 10th century. For the 11th and 12th centuries we possess a series of fully dated records in which we can follow the development of the Śāradā up to the beginning of the 13th century, the date of the Baijnāth *praśastis*.

Devāśeṣa.

With these the history of the Śāradā proper comes practically to an end. It is true that Bühler applies the term Śāradā also to the script used in the *maṅgala* and first verse of the Jvālāmukhī eulogy of Kāṅgṛā-city, which, as noticed above, dates from about A.D. 1440. The script, however, of this and similar later records differs so considerably from that of the pre-Muhammadan documents that it seems desirable to denote it by a special name. In Chambā I found it designated as *devāśeṣa*, and, though the term does not seem to be known elsewhere, I have adopted it in the present work for the sake of convenience. By this name then I propose to indicate the script which was used in Chambā and the neighbouring Hill tracts from c. A.D. 1300 till c. A.D. 1700. The 13th century forms a blank which separates the two palæographical periods.

Ṭākarī.

We have seen that in the course of the 18th century the Nāgarī was adopted in Chambā for epigraphical records. In Kaśmīr the common use of Devanāgarī cannot be traced back beyond the second quarter of the 19th century.[1] In the Kāṅgṛā district we find it already introduced several centuries before. The Śāradā, however, or rather its descendant, the Devāśeṣa, continues as the popular script of the Panjāb Hills under the name of Ṭākarī or Ṭā̃krī. Bühler[2] refers to it as "a modern cursive variety of the Śāradā, the so-called Ṭakkarī or Ṭākarī of the Ḍōgrās in Jammū and the neighbourhood, which of late has been imported also into Kaśmīr." In reality, the Ṭākarī is used all over the Panjāb Hills, except perhaps in the Simla district. There are a great number of varieties, each Hill State or tract having its own peculiar Ṭākarī. That of Jammū is called Ḍōgrī. The Ṭākarī is in general very difficult to read and, if occasionally used for inscriptions, almost undecipherable. It will, no doubt, be the despair of future epigraphists. It is a curious circumstance that in general the oldest inscriptions are the easiest to decipher.

As regards the origin of the term Ṭākarī or Ṭā̃krī, two etymologies may be suggested. It may be connected with *ṭaṅkā* which would point to its having been in the first instance a commercial alphabet. A parallel is furnished by the word

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[1] *Stein, Rājat.* Vol. I, p. 51.

[2] *Ind. Pal.* p. 57 (English p. 57). Cf. also *Kaśmīr Report*, p. 32. Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 153 and *J. R. A. S.* for 1891, p. 362 on the Ḍōgrī of Jammū; cf. Drew, *Jummoo*, pp. 471 f. A table showing the Ṭākarī now used in Chambā has been published by Oldham, *J. R. A. S.* for 1891, p. 360.

Mahājanī (from *mahājan*, "a banker"). Another possibility is to connect it with *ṭhākur* (Sanskrit *ṭhakkura*) in which case it may originally have been the character used by the Rājpūt landholders. The latter derivation would, however, presuppose the disaspiration of the initial consonant. Disaspiration, as Dr. Grierson informs me, is very frequent in the dialects further west towards the Indus hills and also in Rājasthānī which is closely connected with Pahāṛī. But it does not seem to occur in the case of the aspirated hard cerebral. In this connection, I wish to note that the name Ṭākarī also denotes the commercial short-hand used by the *banyās* of certain districts of the Panjāb. I am not prepared to say what its relationship is to the Ṭākarī of the Hills, and whether it is derived from Śāradā. There can be little doubt that Gurmukhī—the alphabet in which the vernacular of the Panjāb is now-a-days written—is a descendant of the ancient Śāradā. Some *akṣaras* like *ka*, *ja*, *ṇa*, *na*, *ya*, *la*, *va*, and *ha* show a peculiar development, but on the whole the ancient forms have been well preserved. The sign for the cerebral sibilant is used to denote the aspirated hard guttural. The remaining gutturals (except *ka*), the cerebrals (except *ṇa*), the dentals (except *na*), and the labials (except *ba*) are very similar to the corresponding Śāradā letters. This confirms the conclusion arrived at above that the Śāradā character was once used not only in the Hills, but also in the Plains of the Panjāb.[1]

Conservative character.

Previous writers have laid great stress on the extremely conservative character of the Śāradā alphabet. Cunningham[2] refers to it as "Gupta character" which, he asserts, has been always in use in the hills between the Jamnā and the Indus. "In fact," he continues, "the Baniyās of the hills still keep their accounts in Gupta character, and when I placed a copy of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta before a Baniya, he read off at once *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta*."

Professor Kielhorn,[3] in editing the copper-plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25 of the present volume), remarked "that it would have been impossible to determine the age of that inscription even approximately from the characters in which it is written." Dr. Hoernle also formulated the thesis that "the Śāradā characters are no guide as to age" and declared that "any undated manuscript or inscription written in the Śāradā alphabet *must* be placed after 500 A.D., but *may* be placed almost at any time *after* that epoch."

Notwithstanding their great authority in palæographical matters, I cannot concur with the opinion of the writers just quoted. It is, I believe, based on insufficient evidence owing to the scantiness of the material. Regarding the conservative nature of the Śāradā, there can be no difference of opinion, but it cannot be maintained that in the course of many centuries, it has not undergone any modifications. It is possible that the Śāradā used in manuscripts by the Kaśmīr paṇḍits has remained unchanged, from the time it ceased to be a popular alphabet. But the series of inscriptions found in Chambā shows a slow but distinct development in

[1] Cf. G. A. Grierson, *On the Modern Indo-Aryan Alphabets of North-Western India*, *J. R. A. S.* for 1904, pp. 67 ff. with plates showing Gurmukhī, Laṇḍā, Ṭākrī, and Śāradā alphabets.

[2] *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, p. 121.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 7, n. 2.

the shapes of certain *mātṛkās* and ligatures and in the expression of the medial vowels. This I wish to demonstrate in detail in the following pages. The difference between the Śāradā proper and the Devāśeṣa of the Muhammadan period is so marked, that it will be noticed at a glance. But I believe that a close examination of the character will also enable us to fix the approximate date of any undated Śāradā record of the pre-Muhammadan period, provided it is extensive enough to lend itself to a detailed study.

General appearance.

"A general characteristic," Bühler[1] says, "of the Śāradā of all periods is found in the stiff, thick strokes, which give the characters an uncouth appearance and a certain resemblance to those of the Kuṣaṇa period." This remark holds good of the later Śāradā inscriptions as exemplified by the Baijnāth *praśastis* which formed the main basis for Bühler's observations, but does not in the same degree apply to the earlier inscriptions. The Śāradā, it is true, is far less ornamental than the acute-angled script of Meruvarman's inscriptions, which preceded it. But the character of the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13) and that of Vidagdha's copper-plate grant (No. 15) cannot be said to be any more uncouth than that of an ordinary Gupta or Nāgarī inscription. Much depends on the ability of the engraver, and in general it may be stated that the earlier documents are better executed than the later ones. This observation may be of some help in determining the age of an inscription, but does not, of course, in itself afford a sufficient criterion. We have only to compare the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 34), with its squat, thick-set letters, and that of Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī (No. 32) in which the Śāradā attains a remarkable degree of elegance. Yet these two inscriptions belong to the reign of the same Rājā and are separated by a period of only ten years. The probable explanation is that Rāṇā Nāg Pāl of Dēvī Kōṭhī had the means to employ an abler artisan than his neighbour Rāṇā Ludar Pāl of Sālhī.

Use of wedges.

The graceful appearance of the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscription is largely due to the use of slim strokes with distinct nailheads or wedges at the top. Such nailheads, it will be seen, occur in other Śāradā inscriptions also, especially in connection with the akṣaras *ka, ta, da, na, la, ra.*

We find them in the Baijnāth *praśastis* and in general in all carefully executed stone inscriptions, such as that of Mūl Kihār (No. 35). But in the Sarāhaṇ *praśastis* the nailheads are replaced by small horizontal strokes and the same is the case with the copper-plate grants. Here it is evidently due to the nature of the material. This may be inferred from Yugākara's grant (No. 14), in which we notice a very unusual fashion of finishing the vertical strokes at the top by means of two short lines forming a right angle turned upwards. It looks as if the engraver had attempted to imitate the wedges of the stone inscriptions. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period nailheads are not found; this constitutes at once a point of difference between the earlier and the later character.

I now proceed to discuss the development of the Śāradā characters in detail, taking successively, at the instance of Bühler, the radical signs or *mātṛkās*, the medial vowels, and the ligatures.

[1] *Ind. Pal.* p. 57 (English p. 57.)

A. The radical signs or mātṛkās.

Vowels.

The initial *a* and *ā* retain throughout in Śāradā the shape which they have in the acute-angled alphabet. The head of these letters remains open. The lower portion of the left half consists of a curve open towards the left which already occurs in the inscriptions of the Kuṣaṇa period. This curve is also preserved in the Devanāgarī of the Bombay Presidency, whereas elsewhere it has become replaced by two slanting strokes.[1] At the foot of the vertical to the left there is a wedge which on the copper-plates assumes the appearance of a serif (*Cf.* No. 14, ll. 1, 14 and 18.)

The long *ā* is invariably differentiated from the short one by the addition of a second curve, open to the left, which is attached to the foot of the vertical (*Cf.* No. 13, l. 19). This curve is already regularly found in the acute-angled script. In the inscriptions of Meru-varman we twice find the curve (Nos. 6 and 8) and twice a downward stroke to the right of the top (No. 5), such as has become current in Devanāgarī. In the Gaṇeśa and Śakti inscriptions (Nos. 5 and 8) the *a* has a somewhat uncommon shape. In Devāśeṣa initial *a* and *ā* preserve essentially the same shape as in Śāradā, but the top is closed by means of a top-stroke as in Devanāgarī, and the wedge at the foot of the vertical sometimes becomes a triangular loop. (*Cf.* No. 16, ll. 6 and 8 and *Kulū grant*, ll. 7 and 13).

The initial *i* has preserved in Śāradā the shape peculiar to the acute-angled script, which is derived from the ancient Brāhmī by substituting a curve for the lowermost of the three dots. According to Bühler, it is first found in the Indore copper-plate of Skandagupta of A.D. 465.[2] In the Śāradā inscriptions it has remained unchanged and is still found in exactly the same form on the Chambā copper-plates of the Muhammadan period. Instances will be found in No. 13, ll. 3 and 7; No. 28, ll. 3 and 4; No. 29, l. 11; No. 30, l. 2; No. 33, l. 3.

Of initial *ī* only very few instances occur in our inscriptions. In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13, l. 1) it has exactly the same appearance as in the Bower MS. (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 4, I) namely, the upper and lower dots of the ancient sign, which consisted of four dots, have been converted into a vertical stroke with a wedge on each end. This shape, however, does not seem to have been preserved in Śāradā. In the Baijnāth inscriptions (II, l. 7, *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 4, I) we find the vertical stroke considerably shortened and the two dots placed over it. At what time this form became introduced, it is impossible to say, as I do not know of any instance of this letter in the intervening period.

Initial *u* retains in Śāradā its shape of the Gupta period. For instances I refer to No. 13, l. 17; No. 14, l. 10; No. 15, ll. 13 (twice), 15 and 26; No. 24, ll. 16 (twice) and 20. In the Bakhshalai MS. we find the upward stroke lengthened up to the level of the top-stroke, and this is also sometimes the case in the Chambā inscriptions. Initial *u* retains the same shape in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (*cf.* No. 16, l. 11). The upward stroke differentiates the *u* from *t*. In the later inscriptions the two *akṣaras* are often hard to distinguish.

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[1] *Cf.* Bühler, *Ind. Pal.* p. 53 (3).

[2] *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 68 ff; plate IX-B.

Initial *ū* has the same appearance as *u* but is provided with a downward curve attached to the middle of the letter on the right side. It occurs in No. 13, l. 17 and No. 24, l. 23.

Initial *e* appears in its ancient triangular shape, but a wedge attached to the left end of the top stroke constitutes an innovation. We notice two varieties: 1st, the triangle is equicrural (almost equilateral), its base forming the top-stroke, 2nd, the triangle is rectangular, the rectangle being formed by the top-stroke and the vertical. The equicrural or equilateral form which is the more archaic is generally found in the older Chambā inscriptions [No. 13, ll. 1 and 15; No. 15, ll. 15 and 24; No. 24, ll. 20 and 21; No. 25, l. 20 (twice)]. The other later form occurs in No. 14, l. 7; No. 15, l. 8; No. 26, l. 17, and in Baijnāth (I, 16, 18, II 5, but *cf.* I, 7). An uncommon squarish variety is that found in No. 26, l. 12.

No instance of initial *ai* is known from Śāradā inscriptions. In manuscripts it presents the appearance of initial *e* with superscribed *e* stroke (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 12, VII).

Initial *o* occurs exclusively in the sacred syllable *om* which, however, is mostly expressed by a symbol, derived from an earlier form of that letter (cf. *Ind. Pal.* pl. IV, 6, XVIII). This symbol is regularly found in Meru-varman's inscriptions (Nos. 5—8) and also in that of Sāmanta Aṣāḍha (No. 9), where it is provided with a long tail. For other instances see No. 13, l. 1; No. 15, l. 1; No. 25, l. 1; No. 26, l. 1; No. 28, l. 1; No. 29, l. 1. It will be seen that the original *akṣara* is often partly or wholly inverted. The syllable *om* is rendered by initial *o* with *anusvāra* in No. 14, l. 1; No. 24, l. 1; No. 33, l. 1. The *akṣara* has the appearance of initial *u* with a wedge or serif in front. It would seem that in the Baijnāth inscriptions initial *o* is expressed by the sign for initial *u* with a curve attached to the right, very similar to that found in initial *ū* (cf. *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 9, I). I suspect, however, that this additional curve is in reality a separate stroke used as a sign of punctuation. It will be noticed that in the Śāradā of the Kaśmīr MSS. initial *o* has no such curve. Here we find the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* developed into a vertical which closes the sign *u* in front (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 13, IX; *cf.* also *Kuḷū grant*, l. 1).

Initial *au* is expressed in the same manner, but a wedge is added to the right of the top of the letter. (*Ibidem* 14, IX). It does not occur in inscriptions.

Consonants. Gutturals.

The *ka* (except in *ku*, *kṛ* and as upper or central member of ligatures) retains the shape which it has assumed in the acute-angled script where the left end of the cross-bar is connected with the foot of the vertical. The loop thus formed is in general more rounded in the older inscriptions (also in the Bakhshalai MS. See *Ind. Pal.* VI, 15, VIII) and more angular in the later ones. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period the curve on the right side is sometimes connected with the vertical, thus forming a second loop (cf. *Kuḷū grant*, passim). This development gives the letter an appearance similar to that of *cha* from which it is often difficult to distinguish. The double-looped *ka* is also found in the Śāradā MSS. of Kaśmīr (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 15, I). It has led to a further modification in the modern Ṭākarī, where the *ka* resembles the cursive capital *W* of the Roman alphabet. The Gurmukhī *ka* seems to be derived direct from the Śāradā form with single loop.

The *kha* may be best described as an ancient *dha* with a vertical to the left attached to it by means of a top-stroke (No. 13, ll. 14, 18, 19). Here also the later form is in general more angular than the older one. In inscriptions of the 12th century (Nos. 31 and 35) we find, moreover, a peculiar development of the above noted vertical which follows, as it were, the outline of the supposed *dha* and becomes crooked. This, however, is only an ephemeral form, as it is not found in the contemporaneous Sālhī inscription (No. 33, l. 3 *likhitam*) nor in the Baijnāth *praśastis*. In the Devāśeṣa also the vertical is straight (No. 16, *likhitam* in top margin and *Kuḷū grant*, l. 20).

In the grant of Vidagdha (No. 14) the letter *ga* is occasionally distinguished by a serif at the top of the vertical and a wedge at the foot of the second stroke. But for the rest, *ga* retains the same shape all through the series of Śāradā inscriptions. It is identical with the Nāgarī letter.

The letter *gha* also remains unchanged. *Cf.* No. 31, l. 23; No. 35 *Ghaghuka*.

The *akṣara ṅa* is only found in combination with other gutturals.[1] It has retained its shape of the Gupta period, but is characterised by a wedge at the right end of the top-stroke. Such a protuberance is also found in the alphabet immediately preceding the Nāgarī. Bühler sees in it the origin of the dot of the Nāgarī *ṅa*.

Palatals.

Bühler mentions "the quadrangular *ca*" as one of the characteristic letters of the Śāradā. It should, however, be noticed that in the earlier inscriptions, such as the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13) and the Chambā copper-plates, the shape of this letter is still rounded with a pointed projection to the left, exactly as in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. This form is also found in the Bakhshalai MS. In the epigraphs of the 12th century (*e.g.*, Nos. 31 and 35) it assumes a more angular form and is very similar to the *va* except for a knob which has replaced the projection of the older type. The quadrangular *ca*, peculiar to the Kaśmīr MSS., is not found in our inscriptions. In Devāśeṣa and Ṭākarī we find *ca* provided with a cursive loop.

The *cha* appears in its ancient shape of the Gupta period which it keeps both in Śāradā and in Nāgarī. In later inscriptions, as noted above, it is often difficult to distinguish this letter from the *ka* with double loop.

The *ja*, which in Nāgarī has undergone such considerable modifications, appears in the Śāradā in exactly the same form as in the acute-angled alphabet, which differs but slightly from that found in the earliest Brāhmī. In no other letter perhaps is the conservative nature of the Śāradā better illustrated. The Śāradā *ja* differs from that of the Gupta period in its more cursive appearance and in a wedge attached to the right end of the top-stroke. This wedge, which may easily be confused with the *ā* mark, disappears in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. The peculiar forms of *jā* will be discussed beneath.

The *akṣara jha* is very rare. In our inscriptions it is only met with in the ligature *jjhi* (No. 13, l. 11 *rasojjhitena*), which agrees closely with the *akṣara jjha* in the Bower MS. (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 23, II).

The palatal nasal also occurs only in combination with other letters. I may

[1] I may note that single *ña* occurs in a grant of Pṛthvī Siṅgh (l. 6 *Pāñī* for *Pāṅgī*) to the temple of Cāmuṇḍā Devī at Mindhal.

note *ñca* (No. 30, ll. 13, 15), *ñce* (No. 13, l. 20), *ñcha* (No. 32, l. 20), *ñja* (No. 13, ll. 6, 7, 8, 20), and for the Muhammadan period *ñja* (No. 16, l. 8). It still betrays its descent from the ancient Brāhmī *ña*, but has developed a top-stroke with a wedge similar to that of *ja*, but attached to the other (left) end. Its shape is exactly the same as that found in the Bower MS. In the later Kaśmīr MSS. the wedge has become a vertical stroke just as in the case of initial *o* noted above.

Linguals.

The appearance of the two hard cerebrals in Śāradā does not present anything remarkable. Both letters have practically preserved the ancient forms of the Brāhmī, except that *ṭa* has developed a top-stroke. This top-stroke—it should be noted—is not yet found in the earlier Śāradā inscriptions of Chambā (*Cf.* No. 13, l. 2, *Bhogaṭo;* No. 15, l. 9, *cāṭa-bhaṭa*). But it appears in the copper-plates of the 11th century (No. 24, l. 2; No. 25, l. 3). It will be seen that here too, as in the case of *ja*, a wedge is attached to the right end of the top-stroke. This wedge occurs already in the earliest Śāradā inscriptions. It is also found in the Śāradā of Kaśmīr.

Among the Śāradā letters which exhibit a peculiar development, Bühler mentions the *ḍa* "which shows in the middle a loop instead of an acute angle, and a wedge at the end." The loop, however, is not apparent in the examples to which he refers. Possibly it occurs in the Śāradā of Kaśmīr. We find a looped *ḍa* in the Nandi inscription of Meru-varman (No. 7, *maṇḍapa*), but I have not met it in the Śāradā inscriptions of Chambā (*Cf.* No. 14, l. 6, *maṇḍala;* No. 15, l. 9, *daṇḍika-daṇḍavāsika;* No. 24, l. 16, *maṇḍalasya;* No. 31, l. 13, *akāṇḍa, daṇḍa-caṇḍa;* No. 33, l. 3, *krīḍā*). It will be seen that in Vidagdha's grant (No. 15) the wedge at the foot of the letter presents the appearance of a miniature quadrangle.

The *akṣara ḍha* has in Śāradā practically the same shape as in the Kuṣaṇa and Gupta inscriptions (*Cf.* No. 24, l. 14, *prauḍha*). The ligature *rḍha* occurs in the proper name, Raṛḍhā, found in the three copper-plate grants of the 12th century (No. 24, l. 19; No. 25, ll. 12, 16; No. 26, l. 5). The *akṣaras ḍha* and *ṛha* are very similar in appearance and are sometimes difficult to distinguish (*Cf. Ṛhāhi* in No. 35).

The cerebral nasal of the Śāradā shows a very peculiar development.[1] Bühler remarks that in the acute-angled script the suppression of the original base stroke occurs in ligatures from the 7th century and in the uncombined sign from the 8th century. This is well illustrated by the inscriptions of Meru-varman (*Cf. ṇḍa* in *maṇḍapa* No. 7 with single *ṇ* in *puttreṇa, varmmaṇā, Guggeṇa* No. 5), and confirms my conclusion with regard to the approximate date of these epigraphs. The transition between the two forms of *ṇ* will be clearly seen by comparing the *ṇya* of *puṇya* in No. 5 with that in No. 8. In the earlier Śāradā inscriptions we still find the single *ṇa* occasionally provided with a remnant of a base-stroke (No. 13 passim, but note *guṇo*, l. 3; No. 21, *Varuṇa*, l. 1, but *Phālguṇī*, l. 2). Already in the early copper-plates we find the peculiar Śāradā *ṇ*, which resembles a *tashdīd* with a small upward stroke to the right. This is also the type found in the Bakhshālai MS. (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 29, VIII). In defaced inscriptions the trace left by *ṇa* is

[1] Mitra, when editing the Pālam well inscription (*J. A. S. B.* Vol. XLIII, pp. 104 ff.) was curiously led astray by the Śāradā *ṇa*.

always easily recognisable. In the later Śāradā inscriptions the *akṣara* undergoes a further development. It is provided with a long tail attached to the left side and slanting down to the right. This tailed *ṇ* is not yet found on the copper-plates of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa, but appears first in the Lōh-Ṭikrī inscription of Jāsaṭa's reign (No. 29). The epigraphs of the time of Lalita-varman (Nos. 30-33) have the older form, but the tailed *ṇ* is regularly used in the Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34) and also in the Baijnāth *praśastis* (Cf. *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 24, I). We may infer that the tail has developed in the course of the 12th century. In the Devāśeṣa we find the forms with and without the tail used promiscuously (No. 16 passim).

Dentals.

The dental *ta*, according to Bühler, being derived from a looped form, has lost its left half, while the right has been converted into a curve. Looped forms are occasionally met in the Chambā inscriptions (No. 13, l. 1, *satatā* and No. 21); they may easily be confused with *bha* in badly carved inscriptions. The ordinary form without the loop remains unchanged all through the Śāradā and has been preserved in the modern alphabets.

The *tha* appears in the Śāradā inscriptions in two distinct forms. The older one, which is very similar to that of the Gupta period has the shape of a crescent, the convex side turned to the left (No. 13; less pronounced in No. 15). The later form, which is lozenge-shaped, occurs in inscriptions of the 12th century (No. 31, l. 16) and in the Baijnāth *praśastis* (*Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 26, I). In Śāradā, as in the older script, the *tha* is similar to *ṣa* except for its top-stroke.

The Śāradā *da* has the same form as in the Gupta character. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period it develops a loop (No. 16) which is already noticeable in the Bhakuṇḍ fountain inscription (No. 21 *deva*). This loop is very pronounced in the modern Ṭākarī of Chambā.

The *akṣara dha* shows the same two varieties as *tha* from which it is only distinguished by the absence of a cross-bar. In the earlier Śāradā inscriptions it is still crescent-shaped. In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* for instance, single *dha* has precisely the same appearance as in the Aśoka inscriptions. In *dhā*, however, it develops a top-stroke. This crescent-shaped *dha* is also found in the grant of Vidagdha (No. 15). Gradually the top-stroke is adopted for the single letter also which then becomes almost identical with *va*. This form is found in the inscriptions of the 11th century. In the 12th century the letter is flattened below also, so that it assumes the aspect of a Devanāgarī *pa* (*Cf.* No. 31, l. 2 and *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 28, I). The extreme of this process has been reached in the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35), where the original crescent has become a square. This form, however, is not found anywhere else. The later alphabets have preserved the type of the 11th century with its flat top and rounded base.

The dental nasal appears in a very extraordinary form in the Nandi inscription of Meru-varman (No. 7), the loop being attached to the top-strokes so that the letter is hardly to be distinguished from *ma*. This form, as far as I know, is not found anywhere else. A looped *na* is still used in the Bhakuṇḍ inscription (No. 21), but in the ordinary Śāradā the loop has been replaced by a slightly slanting stroke to the proper right of the vertical. In the later inscriptions (No. 34 and Baijnāth) the letter slants to the right.

Labials.

In the older Śāradā inscriptions *pa* has the same shape as in the Gupta period. Later it becomes more angular, but on the whole it preserves its ancient form. It is distinguished from *ṣa* by the absence of a cross-bar, from *ma* by the absence of a loop, and from *ca* by the absence of a top-stroke and loop. In Ṭākarī and Gurmukhī *pa* has preserved the same shape which it has in Śāradā.

The *akṣara pha* differs from its Maurya ancestor only in that it has a top-stroke, and its curve is sometimes developed into a loop. It may easily be confused with *ḍha* which is slightly more angular. Instances of *pha* will be found in No. 7 (*phalā*); No. 13, l. 8 (*dvirepha*); No. 15 (*phalam*); No. 21 (*Phalguṇī*); No. 35 (*Phāhi*); No. 34, l. 3 (*phala*), l. 6 (*vaiphalya*). In Gurmukhī and Ṭākarī the letter differs but little from the Śāradā, its shape being similar to that of Devanāgarī *ḍha*.

Bühler remarks that, as *va* was very generally pronounced *ba*, the ancient sign for *ba* was lost in Northern India. It was replaced by *va* in the inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries. The Devanāgarī has developed a new character for *ba*, but in Śāradā only one sign is used for both.[1] The only inscription in which, as far as I can see, a distinction is made between *ba* and *va*, is the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 31). There we find that *ba* (l. 6, *bālaḥ*) and *bu* (l. 16) have a rounded shape, whereas *va* (passim) is angular. But I must add that *ba* in *bahu* (l. 18) is decidedly angular. It will be seen subsequently that in some inscriptions we notice a difference between *ba* and *va* in ligatures. In my transcripts I have throughout employed the letter required by the case.

The *akṣara bha* appears in Śāradā in two forms, either with an inverted wedge or with an open triangle. The wedged form which is the older of the two is, in general, used in the stone inscriptions, and that with the triangle in copper-plates. In both cases the letter differs but slightly from *ta* with which it may be easily confused. As in less carefully executed inscriptions the triangle becomes more open and less defined, the *bha* becomes very similar to *ha* (*Cf.* No. 28). In the Devāśeṣa and the modern alphabets the triangle has become a triangular loop, but for the rest the letter has remained the same.

In the inscriptions of Meru-varman *ma* has the cursive loop which is also found in the Nāgarī letter and, according to Bühler, appears from the 8th century. In the Śāradā such a loop is only met with in exceptional cases (No. 21, *nāma*). Usually it has either a slight projection of the horizontal to the left (Nos. 13, 15, 24, 25, 26, also *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 34, I) or a knob (No. 31). It will be seen that in the latter case the horizontal slants downward and is attached to the foot of the vertical. Here the *ma* has become identical with *ca* except for the absence of a top-stroke. It is curious that in the Devāśeṣa *ma* appears again with a loop (No. 16). This loop is rounded like that of *ca*, whereas *sa* and *śa* have triangular loops. As the shape of the loop and the top-stroke are the only means of distinguishing those letters, there is ample room for confusion. In Ṭākarī the *ma* has undergone a considerable modification, as here the horizontal has become connected with the top of the vertical, so that the letter has assumed the appearance of Roman *n*. The same

[1] Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 8) notes that in the copper-plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25) *ba* is everywhere noted by the sign for *va*.

change has taken place in *śa* (used for *sa*) which is similar to *ma*, but has retained its top-stroke.

Semi-vowels.

In Śāradā the bipartite *ya* is used exclusively. It differs from the corresponding Nāgarī letter by the absence of a top-stroke. The curve is also more pronounced, especially in the more ornamental inscriptions (Nos. 31, 34). At Baijnāth it resembles *pa*. In the Muhammadan period the letter develops a top-stroke (No. 16), which is preserved in Gurmukhī and Ṭākarī.

In the inscriptions of Meru-varman we find the tailed *ra* which is still used in modern Nāgarī. The Śāradā has retained the older wedged type of the Gupta period. On the copper-plates, except that of Vidagdha, we usually find, instead of a wedge, a slight upward stroke to the left which gives the *akṣara* an appearance very similar to *na*. In Vidagdha's copper-plate grant (No. 15) the wedge is occasionally replaced by a small triangle. This triangle is more pronounced in some of the fountain slab inscriptions and is regularly found in the epigraphs of the Muhammadan period. It has assumed the shape of a rounded loop in the modern alphabets derived from the Śāradā. I may note here that a looped *r* is used in the word *Narasiṁhasya* in the grant of Yugākara (No. 14, l. 12), from which I infer that this word has been engraved at a time much posterior to the issuing of the plate. The other *akṣaras* also differ from those used in the inscription.

In the older Śāradā inscriptions *la* appears sometimes in a very archaic form (No. 15, l. 19, *lo*). In general we can distinguish two types. In the earlier Śāradā inscriptions *la* has a curve attached to the vertical by means of a small horizontal line, which represents the original base-stroke. This type was still prevalent in the beginning of the 12th century (*Cf.* No. 28). In the inscriptions of the reign of Lalita-varman we find the horizontal line replaced by a second curve (Nos. 31 and 34). In the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35) we find both forms used. The Baijnāth *praśastis* have throughout the later form with double curve. In the modern scripts of the Panjāb this letter has undergone a peculiar modification, in that the vertical has become suppressed and the double curve is attached direct to the top stroke. A transitional form may be seen in the spurious grant of Vidagdha (No. 16).

The *akṣara va*, as noted above, is used in Śāradā to denote *ba* also. It has retained its shape of the later Gupta epoch and remained unchanged till the Muhammadan period. In the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī and Sai inscriptions it appears in an angular form which, however, is only ephemeral. In the two inscriptions just mentioned the *va* resembles both *ca* and *pa*, but in the other Śāradā inscriptions, where it occurs in its more common form, it bears a close resemblance to *dha*. In Devāśeṣa it is similar to the *va* of Nāgarī (*Cf.* No. 16), but in the modern alphabets, owing to the loss of the vertical, it appears in an altogether different aspect.

Sibilants.

The Śāradā *akṣara śa* differs essentially from the corresponding letter in the acute-angled script, as exemplified in the ornamental inscriptions of Meru-varman. It is, however, interesting to note that in the Śakti image inscription (No. 8) a much simpler type of *śa* is found, consisting of a looped square attached to a vertical. This is the shape in

which the *śa* appears in the Śāradā, a form similar to that of the Gupta period. In the stone inscriptions the loop is usually replaced by a wedge, but in case the inscription is carved in bold letters, we find a distinct triangular loop (No. 21). In the copper-plate grant of Vidagdha (No. 15) also such a loop will be noticed. In the other copper-plates the two lines cross each other, but the triangle is left open on one side. This explains how the *śa* is occasionally interchanged with *ga* in copper-plate inscriptions. In the epigraphs of the Muhammadan period the *śa* is regularly provided with the triangular loop. In Ṭākarī the *śa* has undergone the same change as *ma* described above. It is distinguished from the latter by a top-stroke. It should be noted that in the modern alphabets the sign with the top-stroke, which in Śāradā denotes the palatal sibilant, is used as the symbol for the dental sibilant, the palatal having become amalgamated with the dental in pronunciation.

Both in the image inscriptions of Meru-varman and in the later Śāradā records, *ṣa* has retained the shape of the western Gupta character. A variety occurs in the Gum stone inscription (No. 9) (and, less pronounced, in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti*), where the upper portion of the vertical above the cross-bar has been suppressed. This peculiarity leads to an exceptional shape of the ligature *kṣa* also. It has already been noticed that the Śāradā *ṣa* is similar to *tha*, except for the absence of a top-stroke. From *pa* it is distinguished by its cross-bar. In the Gurmukhī and Ṭākarī alphabets the *akṣara* has preserved its ancient shape, but it is used to denote the aspirated hard guttural, into which the Sanskrit cerebral sibilant has become changed. This explains why we sometimes find the *akṣara kha* replaced by the *akṣara ṣa* in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period.[1] It is very curious that in the present case of a phonetic change (lautwandel), as well as in those of *va*<*ba* and *śa*<*sa* mentioned above, the *akṣara* denoting the sound which has become changed, has survived, whereas that expressing the sound into which it became merged, has been lost.

The dental sibilant occurs in Meru-varman's inscriptions both with a triangular loop and with an open triangular wedge similar to that of *bha*. The wedged form is also found in the copper-plate grant of Vidagdha (No. 15), but in the other copper-plates we have the same cross shape as we have noticed in the *akṣara śa*. In the Devāśeṣa it has a triangular loop and is distinguished from the *śa* by the absence of a top-stroke. In the modern scripts, as just noted, it has been replaced by the symbol for *śa*.

The *akṣara ha* preserves in Śāradā its shape of the later Gupta period.

Spirants.

During the Muhammadan period the lower curve is lengthened and turned farther backward. This leads to the modern forms of the Panjāb alphabets in which the upper curve has been straightened out and the lower one turned to the left.

The *visarga* and *anusvāra* do not present any particular features in Śāradā. The only point worth noticing is that, in several Chambā inscriptions composed in

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[1] Thus we find the name Quṭbu-d-dīn rendered as क़ुदबदीन in the Pālam well inscription (v. 4). Cf. *Delhi Museum Cat.*, p. 22, and the personal name Khetala as खेतल in the Sārbān well inscription (v. 13); *ibidem* p. 35. Hence also the *kh* in *Oupnekhat* (Upaniṣad) of Anquetil du Perron.

corrupt Sanskrit, the real meaning of the *visarga* is misunderstood and it is regularly used as a sign of punctuation to separate words and sentences (*Cf.* Nos. 28 and 33).

It is one of the most notable characteristics of the Śāradā that we find the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* used with great regularity (*Cf.* however No. 24, l. 18). I may note that in the Chambā inscriptions of the Muhammadan period those two characters are no longer used. The *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in the Lakṣaṇā image inscription of Meru-varman (No. 5) in a shape very similar to that of the *va* of Nāgarī. It has the same rounded form in the Chambā inscriptions (No. 13, l. 6; No. 14, ll. 6, 14; No. 15, l. 5; No. 24, l. 20; No. 25, l. 13; No. 26, l. 7). This form occurs also in the Bakhshalai MS. (*Ind. Ant.* XVII, p. 277) and is identical with the *jihvāmūlīya* of the Pehoa *praśasti* of c. A.D. 900 (*Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 47, III.) In the Baijnāth *praśastis*, on the contrary, we find a distinctly angular form, very similar to the *va* as found in those same inscriptions (*Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 47, I; but *cf.* Baijnāth I, 4). We have already had occasion to notice the preference given to angular forms in the *praśastis* of Baijnāth.

The *upadhmānīya* has in the older Śāradā inscriptions the shape of the figure 8 laid sideways. (No. 13, l. 2; No. 15, l. 28). It closely resembles the corresponding symbol of early Gupta inscriptions (*Ind. Pal.* pl. IV, 46, III), and occurs in exactly the same form in the Pehoa *praśasti* (*Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 48, III). But in the Chambā epigraphs of the 11th and 12th centuries we find a very different type, which can be best described as a Śāradā *ṇa* with a horizontal line beneath. (No. 25, l. 2; No. 26, l. 1; No. 31, ll. 2, 17; No. 34, l. 16). It is also found in the Baijnāth *praśastis* (*Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 48, I). It is interesting that both these later forms of *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* show a close relationship with the corresponding signs found in the Lakkhamaṇḍal inscription of c. A.D. 600 (*Ind. Pal.* pl. IV, 46, XV and XVI). In the spurious plate of Vidagdha (No. 16) which was apparently copied from a genuine record the *upadhmānīya* has been replaced by *ṣa*.

Virāma.

Bühler observes, that the *virāma* first appears in Gupta inscriptions of the 5th century as a horizontal stroke above the small final (*Ind. Pal.* pl. IV, 43, VII). In the earlier acute-angled epigraphs the *virāma* is still frequently placed over the vowelless consonant, and receives a tail which is drawn downwards to the right of the *mātṛkā*. But more commonly it stands beneath the consonant. The Śāradā has preserved the more ancient tailed form. It is found in the Bakhshalai MS. (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 51, VIII) as a long-drawn slanting stroke run through the right end of the top-stroke. In the Chambā inscriptions it has the same appearance, but is considerably shorter. It should be noticed that in the earlier inscriptions the *akṣaras*, with which the *virāma* is combined, often appear in a modified form. The *t* becomes a mere curve (No. 13, ll. 6, 13, 18; No. 24, l. 24; No. 26, ll. 11, 17, 20) sometimes doubled (No. 13, l. 8). The *m* is expressed by a dot, either open or closed, to which the *virāma* is attached (No. 13, ll. 2, 5, 12, 15, 16, 20; No. 15, ll. 11, 21, 22, 24, 26; No. 24, l. 24; No. 26, ll. 10, 20, but in l. 21 the full letter is used). In No. 26, l. 12, there is an instance of *t* with *virāma*. It resembles the Śāradā numeral "six." In the Bakhshalai MS. final *t* is expressed by the full *akṣara* with the long-drawn

virāma just noticed. In the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 31) we find the complete *akṣara*, e.g., *m* ll. 8, 12, 13, 14, 15 also No. 34, l. 6 (Cf. *bh*, No. 35, l. 4). We find the *virāma* still used in the same manner in documents of the Muhammadan period (Cf. *Kulū grant*, l. 10, *dattam*, *dramgāṁtarāt* also l. 13).

B. The medial vowels.

Medial *ā* is, as in the earlier acute-angled inscriptions, expressed in Śāradā by a wedge or, in the case of documents on metal, by a serif attached to the top of the consonant on the right side. In the earlier inscriptions we have to note a peculiar manner of attaching this vowel-sign to certain consonants distinguished by a double top. In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13) we find that the *ā* sign in *pā*, *yā*, *ṣā* and *sā* (not *mā*), either single or combined with a subscribed consonant, is attached by means of a horizontal top-stroke not to the top of the vertical, but to the other left-hand top-end. The vertical is slightly shortened above, so as to remain free from this top-stroke. The same applies to the combination of those four consonants with *o* and *au* ; in the case of *o*, of course, not if the superscribed sign is used.

In the oldest copper-plate (No. 14) this peculiarity does not occur. In Vidagdha's copper-plate (No. 15), on the contrary, the long top-stroke is found in *pā*, *yā*, *ṣā* and *sā* (also in ligatures and if combined with *o* and *au*), but occasionally we find in *pā* (ll. 7, 10, 21 and 24) and in *sā* (ll. 25 and 26) the vowel-sign attached direct to the top of the vertical. In the Tur inscription of Vidagdha's first year (No. 17) we notice the same vacillation in *sā*, but *pā* has throughout the long top-stroke. The *akṣaras yā* and *ṣā* do not occur in this inscription. In the later documents the wedge or serif indicating *ā* is invariably attached to the top of the vertical. This is already the case in the fragmentary inscription of Queen Diddā. We may, therefore, assume that the practice just noted dropped out of use about A.D. 1000. It seems indeed to have been an ephemeral and perhaps local peculiarity, of which, as far as I know, no instances are found either in earlier or later inscriptions. In the inscriptions of Meru-varman, in any case, the *ā* sign is always attached to the top of the vertical. The only exception is *ṣā* in *Aṣāḍha* (Gum inscription No. 9, l. 3), but here it is evidently due to the peculiar modification of the *mātṛkā* which has lost the upper portion of its main vertical.

Special notice may be drawn to the *akṣaras ṅā*, *ṭā*, and *ṇā* in which the long *ā* is expressed by a small hook or semi-circle with its concave side turned downwards. It is curious that in the Gupta inscriptions we find the vowel-sign of *ṭā* represented by a mark similar in shape but turned the opposite way. The *ṇā*, notwithstanding the considerable modifications of the *mātṛkā* itself, retains its hook-shaped *ā* all through the Śāradā. It is only in the Muhammadan period that the hook develops into a tail continued beneath the consonant. This will be seen on the spurious plate of Vidagdha (No. 16) edited in this volume. In the Baijnāth *praśasti* (II, 10) we find the *ā* in *ṅkā* expressed by a loop.

The Śāradā *jā* has preserved a very archaic type, as the vowel-mark consists of a prolongation of the central stroke, as found in the oldest Brāhmī. It is turned upwards so as to form nearly a straight angle with the stroke to which it is attached, in the same manner as in the Gupta and acute-angled alphabets. The form with *ā*

differs, moreover, from the single consonant, in that it drops the top-stroke and wedge peculiar to the *mātṛkā*. From about A.D. 1200 a change takes place, first noticeable in the Baijnāth *praśastis*, where the *ā* of *jā* is represented by a hook sometimes similar to that found in *ṅā*, *ṭā* and *ṇā*, but more commonly prolonged downward so as to touch the central. In one case (II, 12) again we find the vowel-mark represented by a little triangle hanging down from the top-stroke. In the Muhammadan period the equalizing tendency leads to the *jā* being rendered by the *mātṛkā* provided with the ordinary vowel-mark. On the copper-plates of this period this has assumed the shape of a little semi-circular stroke, turned upwards and attached to the top-stroke or to the top of the vertical. Instances will be seen on the spurious plate of Vidagdha (No. 16). The *ṇā*, as already noted, forms an exception, as here the *ā* is expressed by a tail attached to the right of the *mātṛkā* and continued below.

In general medial *i* and *ī* are rendered by a curve drawn down respectively to the left and right of the *mātṛkā*. In some documents, however, the vowel-mark is occasionally placed over the consonant in the ancient fashion of the Kuṣaṇa and Gupta periods. Examples are found in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13, l. 1, *śarīraḥ*, etc.), in the Bāṇōtā fountain inscription of the reign of Soma-varman (No. 23), and in the copper-plate inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries, in which medial *i* and *ī* are often hardly distinguishable from medial *e*. (No. 26, l. 16, *pratipādita* and l. 21, *likhitam*.) We may assume that about A.D. 1200 the superscribed medial *i* and *ī* dropped out of use. In the Luj inscription of A.D. 1105-6 the superscribed *i* is still found in *thāpitam* (No. 28, ll. 2, 3 and 4). The latest example is afforded by the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35).

Medial *u* is expressed in two ways—1st, by a wedge which on copper-plates assumes the shape of a short stroke or hook, attached to the lower end of the vertical stroke on the left side, or, in the case of *ṇu*, *du*, *phu*, *yu* (only in ligatures), and *hu*, connected with the bottom of the consonant by means of a short vertical line; 2nd, by a curve which is in reality the sign for initial *u*. In the older inscriptions the former practice is by far the more common. It is regularly found in *cu* (No. 25, l. 23), *chu* (No. 25, l. 12), *ṭu* (No. 15, l. 10; No. 31, l. 2), *ṇu* (in *ṣṇu* No. 13, l. 3), *thu* (No. 13, l. 3, in *tthu;* No. 25, l. 21), *du*, *dhu* (No. 13, l. 17), *nu* (No. 13, l. 9), *pu*, *phu* (No. 34, l. 13, in *sphu;* No. 13, l. 5; No. 24, l. 9), *bu* (No. 13, l. 11), *mu* (No. 13, l. 5), *yu* (No. 13, l. 9, in *ryu;* No. 13, l. 2), *lu* (No. 24, l. 5), *vu* (?), *ṣu* (in *kṣu* No. 13, l. 14) *su* (No. 13, l. 6) and *hu* (No. 13, l. 9). The curved *u* is peculiar to the *akṣaras ku*, *gu*, *ḍu* (in *ṇḍu* No. 13, l. 10), *tu*, *bhu* and *śu*. It should be noticed that in the older inscriptions either of the two methods is applied to a certain set of consonants.

Already in the epigraphs of the 11th and 12th centuries the curved *u* is now and then substituted for the wedged one, *e.g.*, in *ṇu* (No. 33, l. 2), *ṣṇu* (No. 33, l. 3) and *thu* (No. 24, l. 26).

This tendency becomes still more apparent in the Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34) where the curve is used in *ju* (l. 10), *mu* (l. 13), *lu* (l. 12) and *hu* (l. 9). But side by side with those forms we find *mu* (ll. 12 and 16) and *lu* (l. 19, also in *plu* l. 18) with the wedged vowel-sign. In the Baijnāth *praśastis* the use of the

curved medial *u* has become further extended. It is very often found in *dhu* (I, l. 27, but cf. I, l. 30), *du* (I, l. 21, but cf. II, ll. 10, 12 and *ndu* II, l. 10), *nu* (I, ll. 19, 31; but cf. II, l. 5), *pu* (I, ll. 11, 13, 24, 25, but cf. I, l. 15; II, l. 4), *bu* (I, l. 22, but cf. II, l. 12), *mu* (I, ll. 5, 6, 15, 25, 31, but cf. I, l. 6; II, ll. 5, 6), *yu* (I, ll. 6, 7, 10, also in *ryu* I, l. 19 and *nyu* I, l. 23; II, ll. 24 and 29; but cf. II, ll. 4, 8, 9, *bhyu* II, l. 5 and *nyu* II, l. 9), *su* (I, ll. 7, 27, 30, also in *ssu* I, l. 24; but cf. I, 27; II, 12 and *ssu* II, 6), and throughout in *hu*. Besides, the curved *u* is, as in the older Śāradā inscriptions, exclusively used in *ku*, *gu*, *tu*, *bhu* and *śu*. It occurs also in *ḍhu* (I, l. 31) which is wanting in the older inscriptions and in *ṇu* (I, 8) for which, as we saw, in Chambā also the curved sign is occasionally used.

The history of medial *ū* in Śāradā runs parallel to that of medial *u*, but as the long vowel sign is less frequent than the short one, the development cannot be traced so clearly. The Śāradā has two methods of rendering medial *ū*—1st, a curved or wavy, flag-like line, sometimes slightly slanting, attached to the lower end of the vertical on the left, or connected with the letter by means of a short vertical stroke; 2nd by the subscribed sign for initial *ū*. In the older inscriptions the wavy line is by far the more common. It is found in *chū* (No. 25, l. 15), *dū* (No. 14, l. 19; No. 15, l. 7), *dhū* (No. 31, l. 19), *pū* (No. 13, l. 4; No. 14, l. 7; No. 15, l. 12), *mū* (No. 13, l. 2; No. 14, l. 3), *yū* (No. 15, l. 16), *lū* (No. 24, l. 5), *śū* (No. 24, l. 9), *sū* (No. 13, l. 4, and in *tsū* No. 14, l. 17) and *hū* (No. 24, l. 5). The curved *ū*, on the contrary, appears only in *kū* (No. 24, l. 7) and *bhū* (No. 13, l. 13; No. 14, l. 2, also in *bhrū*, No. 13, l. 9). In the Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34), however, we find it used in *śū* (ll. 4, 11) and *sū* (l. 10) and in the Baijnāth *praśastis* it occurs in *dhū* (I, l. 5, but cf. II, l. 12), *pū* (II, ll. 9, 24; II, 5, 26), *bhū* (II, ll. 5, 26), *mū* (I, ll. 5, 25, 32; but cf. *rmū* II, l. 4) and *sū* (I, l. 29). It is the same tendency to substitute the younger form for the older one, which we observe both in medial *u* and *ū*.

The groups *ru* and *rū* deserve special notice. In the Sarāhaṇ inscription (No. 13, ll. 6, 8, 13, 15) we find them rendered by the *mātṛkā* with the subscribed initial vowel-mark. It is very curious that we find exactly the same sign for *ru* in the early Gupta inscriptions of Allahabad and Kahaum which—it should be noted—both exhibit the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, and also in that of Aṁśu-varman of A.D. 635 which proves its occurrence in Nepal. In the Śāradā, however, the *akṣara ru* becomes very soon modified. Already in the earliest Chambā copper-plates we find it expressed by the *mātṛkā* with a flag attached to the right, about the middle of the vertical. This is the common form found in all Śāradā inscriptions. (Cf. No. 16, l. 9; No. 24, l. 12; No. 26, ll. 3, 16; No. 32, l. 20). In Vidagdha's grant (No. 15, ll. 2, 3, 4) we find the flag attached to the top-stroke. In the Devāśeṣa the flag becomes more prominent (Cf. No. 16, l. 9 and *Kuḷū grant, l.* 10 *Puruka*). Here the *ru* resembles the Śāradā *ka*. The *akṣara rū*, on the contrary, retains the form which we find in the Sarāhaṇ inscription, though the vertical becomes considerably shortened, so that it is hardly to be distinguished from initial *ū*. We find it in the Bakhshalai MS. as well as in the Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34, ll. 10, 14) and in the Baijnāth *praśasti* (I, l. 21).

The vowel is rendered by a slanting stroke to the proper left (as in *ru*) in the following ligatures which are found in the Baijnāth *praśastis*: *śru* (I, l. 15), *dru*

(I, l. 24), *ddhu* (II, l. 12), *tru* (II, l. 13), and *ndhu*. The Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34) has analogous forms in *ssru* (l. 17) and *śru* (l. 20). Of the group *bhrū* we find an instance in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (l. 9); and *bhru* is found in No. 24, l. 2 and No. 25, l. 3.

I may observe in this connection that in *ku* and *kṛ*—as well as in ligatures (except as lower member)—the *ka* has preserved its ancient type without a loop. (Cf. *ku* No. 13, passim; *ṅku* No. 13, l. 11; *kṛ* No. 32, ll. 8, 16, 17; *ṅkṛ* No. 13, ll. 5, 9; *ḳkṛ* No. 13, l. 15). This peculiarity, which is common to the acute-angled script and to the Śāradā, is still found in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (Cf. No. 16 and *Kulū grant*).

As regards medial *ṛ*, Bühler[1] mentions its angular shape as one of the peculiar developments of the Śāradā. I must, however, point out that this shape is only found in the later inscriptions. In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* we find sometimes (*śṛ* l. 6), a curve very similar to that indicating medial *ṛ* in the Gupta and Nāgarī alphabets. The only difference is that it is more closed. In other cases (*ḳ*=*kṛ* l. 15 and *pṛ* l. 20) it is slightly more angular. In the grant of Yugākara (No. 14) we find a pronounced angular form in *vṛ* (l. 2), but in all other instances the *ṛ* is either rounded (*kṛ* l. 9, *bhṛ* l. 16) or squarish (*kṛ* ll. 11, 16, 17 and 18). In the charter of Vidagdha (No. 15) *ṛ* occurs no less than 14 times, but in each case it is expressed by a curved loop very similar to subscribed *ya*. In the copper-plates of the 11th century *ṛ* still retains its rounded shape, but it is more open (*Cf.* No. 24, ll. 2, 12 and 17 *kṛ*, and l. 13 *spṛ*; No. 26, l. 3 and 10 *kṛ*, and l. 14 *gṛ* and *vṛ*). Only in No. 26, l. 3 do we find a slightly angular form. In the 12th century a distinct angular *ṛ* occurs all through the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 31, ll. 8, 16, 17 *kṛ*, l. 10 *vṛ*). It is very curious that in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we find the rounded *ṛ* again. The angular form, therefore, far from being a characteristic of the Śāradā, is only an ephemeral phenomenon, apparently limited to the 12th century.

Medial *e* is expressed either by a *pṛṣṭhamātrā*, i.e., a wedge attached to the top of the consonant on the left, or by a stroke over it. In the older inscriptions this stroke closely resembles the Devanāgarī sign for medial *e*, but later it becomes straight and horizontal.

In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* is the more common. It is combined with the *mātṛkās ka, ca, ta, da, dha, na, ma, ra, va*, and *sa* (in *sye*) and also in ligatures in which these consonants take the first place. The superscribed vowel-mark is found in *ge* (and *gme*), *ñe* (in *ñce*), *ye*, and *le*, whilst in *je* and *śe* either of the two occurs. Of the 54 cases in which medial *e* occurs in this inscription the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* is used 38 and the superscribed sign 16 times, the proportion being nearly 70 % to 30 %.

In the copper-plates of Yugākara and Vidagdha (Nos. 14 and 15), on the contrary, the wedged *e* is of much less frequent occurrence than the superscribed one. In the former plate the proportion is about 26 % to 74 %, in the latter 22% to 78%. The two marks are used indiscriminately in combination with the same consonants. The superscribed *e* is either horizontal or slanting.

[1] *Ind. Pal.* p. 57 (English p. 57).

It is very curious that in the copper-plates of the 12th century the balance changes again in favour of the ancient *pṛṣṭhamātrā*. In that of Somavarman (No. 24) this sign is still in the minority, the proportion being 39% to 61%, but in those of Somavarman-Āsaṭa (No. 25) and Āsaṭa (No. 26) it has gained the predominance over its rival. The proportion is 57% and 43% in the one, and 77% and 23% in the other inscription. This revival of the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* may have been due merely to an archaic inclination on the part of the authors of those grants. In the inscriptions of the 12th century the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* drops almost entirely out of use. In the Sai inscription it is not used, in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscriptions only once (No. 32 *-deva*). In the Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34) the superscribed vowel-mark is used exclusively. This is also the case with all inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. It should, however, be noticed that the two marks are still used side by side in the Baijnāth *praśastis*, but, as Bühler remarks, the ancient *pṛṣṭhamātrā* is used only occasionally, whereas the medial *e* is mostly represented by a thick horizontal or slightly slanting stroke.

Apparently the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* was still in use in Kaśmīr in the first half of the 15th century, at least in legal documents. This is expressly stated in the chronicle of Jonarāja, who lived in the reign of Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn and died A.D. 1459-60.[1] The chronicler relates that his grandfather Laularāja in the year of his death sold one *prastha* of land. After his death the purchasers "doctored" the deed of sale (Skr. *vikraya-pattraka*), so as to make it appear that not one but ten *prasthas* had been sold to them. The words *bhūprastham=ekaṁ vikrītam* they made into *bhūprastha-dasakaṁ vikrītam*. "In order to express the *e* following a consonant," the author explains, "the clerks used formerly to write a stroke behind the consonants. But as in the course of time the script (*lipi*) became changed, the writers of to-day write the stroke expressing *e* over the consonant." The impostors could, therefore, easily change the ancient vowel sign of *me* into *da*. The *ma* they converted into *sa* (not *śa*). The wise sultan, however, discovered the fraud by immersing the birch bark document in water, by which the fresh additions disappeared. In this manner, the chronicler concludes—

"The king got glory, I the land,[2]
The forger punishment severe,
The subjects of the king delight,
And roundabout the wicked fear."

This episode is of great interest not only as an instance of Zainu-l-'ābidīn's sagacity, but also as a proof that up to the 15th century the vowel-mark *e* was indicated in Kaśmīr practically in the same manner as in the days of Aśoka.

In the older Śāradā inscriptions—the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* and the copper-plates of the 10th and 11th centuries—the medial *ai* is throughout rendered by a combination of the two signs used to express medial *e*, in other words by a *pṛṣṭhamātrā* combined with a superscribed stroke. This is also found in the inscription of Queen Diddā

[1] *Laukika* 35 according to Śrīvara (l. 6).

[2] Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. LIV, 1896), vv. 1025-37. J. C. Dutt in his translation *Kings of Kashmira*, Vol. III, p. 80, has entirely misunderstood this passage.

(l. 6 *tai*), where the superscribed stroke is slightly shifted backward owing to want of room. It should be noted that in the earliest inscriptions, as in the case of medial *e*, the superscribed stroke is slanting and often rests with its right end on the top of the consonant. In the copper-plates of the 11th century the line has become horizontal.

In the added portion of the grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25, l. 29 *trai*) we find the first instance of the double superscribed stroke, which gradually becomes the only way of expressing medial *ai*.[1] We may assume the change to have occurred about A.D. 1100. Both in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī and Mūl-Kihār inscriptions the double stroke is used exclusively. In the Baijnāth *praśastis* we find again both methods, but the two horizontal lines are the more common. It seems indeed that the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* is only used if there is not sufficient room above the consonant for a double stroke. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period the medial *ai* is invariably expressed by the two horizontal lines.

In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* medial *o* is expressed in not less than three different ways. First of all we find the ancient method of two wedges attached to both sides of the top of the letter. In one case (*lo* l. 7) we find the left-hand wedge attached not to the top-stroke but to the curve of the letter proper. The second method consists of a wedge to the proper left combined with a superscribed *e* stroke. Lastly we meet with that peculiar superscribed flourish which is first found in the Kuṣaṇa inscriptions. Of these three methods the one first-mentioned is the most common in the Sarāhaṇ inscription. Out of the 33 cases in which medial *o* occurs in this record it is 19 times expressed in the first, 4 times in the second and 10 times in the third manner. The proportion is therefore 58%, 12%, and 30%.

In the early copper-plates the proportion suddenly changes in favour of the second method. It is universally used in Yugākara's grant (No. 14), except in two doubtful cases (*vyo* l. 1 and *mo* l. 15) in which, respectively, the two wedges and the flourish seem to occur. In Vidagdha's plate (No. 15), on the contrary, the superscribed *o* sign is used in 42 out of the 53 cases, whilst the combination of the *ā* wedge and the superscribed *e* stroke is found 10 times and the two wedges only once (*to* l. 29).

On the copper-plates of the 11th century we find medial *o* still expressed in the three ways mentioned above. In that of Soma-varman (No. 24) the figures are 4, 13 and 7 out of a total of 24 or 17%, 54% and 29%. In the grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25) we have 2, 4 and 14 or 10%, 20% and 70% and in that of Āsaṭa (No. 26) 6, 13 and 22 or 14%, 32% and 54%. Notwithstanding frequent vacillations it will be seen that gradually the superscribed flourish becomes the typical expression of medial *o*, whereas the double wedge is but exceptionally used.

The inscriptions of the 12th century exhibit clearly the progress of this equalizing process. In the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 31) medial *o* is expressed throughout by the superscribed mark, except only once (*sto* l. 7) where we find the second method used, evidently because the *akṣara śśrī* immediately above did not

[1] In the plate of Soma-varman (No. 24, l. 10) we find a *va* with apparently two strokes over it, but presumably one is meant for an *anusvāra* and we have to read it *veṁ* and not *vai*.

leave sufficient room for the other sign. This is of interest as showing that the older methods, or at least one of them, were still known to the writer. He deliberately prefers the superscribed flourish, which is both more distinct and more ornamental than the older signs. It will also be noticed that the flourish has considerably changed in shape. It bears a close resemblance to the *mad* used in Arabic and Persian to indicate long *alif*. Bühler compares it to the Greek circumflex.

In the Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34) we find the superscribed flourish used throughout; it has here the same shape as in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti*. We may, therefore, assume that in the second half of the 13th century this sign became universally adopted. It is curious, however, that in the Baijnāth *praśastis* a few cases still occur where medial *o* is expressed by *e*, either superscribed or *pṛṣṭhamātrā*, plus *ā*. But in the great majority of cases we find the flourish of the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī and Mūl-Kihār inscriptions. This remains the typical mark for medial *o* in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (see No. 16 passim and *Kulū grant*), in the literary Śāradā of Kaśmīr, and in the modern Ṭākarī.

In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* we find medial *au* expressed three times (*kṣau* l. 11, *gau* l. 17, and *tau* l. 17) by the double wedge and the superscribed slanting *e* stroke. In the same inscription medial *au* is rendered ten times by the superscribed *o* plus the *ā* stroke. Once (*sau* l. 7) the wedge has been erroneously placed on the left side of the consonant. Both methods are applied to the same letters (Cf. *gau*, ll. 1 and 17).

We may assume that the first-mentioned method dropped out of use at a very early date, perhaps about the middle of the 10th century, as it is not met with in any other Śāradā inscription. Thus with the one exception noted, medial *au* is expressed throughout by a combination of the superscribed flourish and the *ā* mark. It remains only to be noted that the flourish undergoes here the same modification as has been pointed out in the case of medial *o*.

C. Ligatures.

Regarding the ligatures in Śāradā it may be observed that in general the constituent elements can still be easily recognised, and have preserved their original forms better than in the corresponding Nāgarī characters. In this respect also the Śāradā shows itself more conservative. The second consonant is always placed below the first one. Here I wish to draw attention only to those ligatures which are remarkable for their peculiar development.

The *akṣara ka* preserves, as the upper or central member of ligatures (as in *ku* and *kṛ*), its ancient form without a loop (Cf. *kkra* No. 13, l. 3; *kya* No. 13, l. 6; *kṣa* No. 13, ll. 7-8, 9, 16; *krā* No. 13, l. 10; *kta* No. 13, l. 14; cf. also *Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 49, VIII and IX). This is still the case in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. (Cf. *kṣī* in No. 16, l. 9; *kra* and *kṣa* in *Kulū grant* l. 1.) In Nāgarī we find the unlooped *ka* only in the ligatures *kta* (*ktra*) and *kṣa*, in the latter in a considerably modified form. As the lower member of a ligature *ka* appears in its looped shape, *e. g.* in *tka* (No. 13, l. 6); *ṅka* (No. 13, ll. 10 and 19); *rka* (No. 13, l. 7) and *ṣka* (No. 15, l. 15).

Subscribed *ña* appears in Śāradā in the same form as in the acute-angled alphabet. It differs considerably from the *mātṛkā* and resembles most closely the

Śāradā lingual *ṇ* (Cf. No. 15, ll. 11, 22 ; No. 32, l. 9, *saṁjñā*, also *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 50, IX). For the Devāśeṣa cf. *Kuḷū grant* l. 11 *rājñā*.

The *akṣara ṭa* as the second letter of ligatures retains its normal form in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13, l. 5 *ṇṭa*, ll. 5, 17 *ṣṭi*). But in all later inscriptions it assumes a shape closely resembling that of the medial *ū* of Nāgarī. This subscribed *ṭa* consists of a curve nearly semi-circular and open to the right (evidently the original *mātṛkā*), and a tail attached to the foot of the upper consonant and slanting down to the right. On copper-plates these two elements can usually still be distinguished (Cf. No. 15, l. 7 *ṣṭra ;* No. 15, l. 21, *ṣṭam ;* No. 15, ll. 1, 10, 15, 18 *ṣṭā*). The ligature *ṭṭa* forms an exception, as here the second *ṭa* is usually expressed by a single curve (No. 16, l. 5; No. 24, ll. 18, 20, 23; No. 26, ll. 4, 5, 6, 11). It is curious that in Vidagdha's grant the second *ṭa* in *ṭṭa* is rendered in the same manner as in other ligatures (No. 15, ll. 1, 5). The same peculiarity is found in the Kuḷū grant (ll. 3, 9 and 11), though separated from the other by nearly six centuries. In the last-quoted instance (*haṭṭa*) we have a looped form which elsewhere in this inscription is used for subscribed *ṭha* (l. 11, *śreṣṭhā*).

Subscribed *ṭha* appears in the older Śāradā inscriptions in a shape closely resembling the *va* (Cf. No. 15, l. 10 *ṣṭhā*), but usually a tail is added to the right of the foot of the vertical (Cf. No. 15, l. 10 *ṣṭhā*, l. 24 *ṣṭhe ;* No. 17, l. 6; No. 19, l. 3 *ṣṭhi*). In the copper-plate grants of the 11th century we find a form practically identical with that of subscribed *ṭa* mentioned above. The only difference is that the tail is somewhat shorter (Cf. No. 24, l. 8 *ṣṭhi* and l. 20 *ṣṭhā*). In the Kuḷū grant, as just noted, we find a looped form (l. 11 *ṣṭhā*, l. 14 *ṣṭhī*).

Of special interest are in Śāradā those ligatures of which *tha* is the second letter. In the earlier inscriptions we find *tha* expressed by a spiral or inward curve drawn from left to right. (Cf. No. 13, l. 16 *tstha*, l. 7 *ttha ;* No. 15, l. 6 *sthā*, ll. 13, 18 *sthi*, l. 17 *nthyā ;* No. 18 *sthā*.) We find this form still used in the copper-plate grants of the 11th century (No. 25, l. 13 *sthā*, l. 16 *nthi ;* No. 26, l. 16 *sthi*, l. 17 *nthyaṁ*, l. 18 *ntha*, N.B. *sthā* No. 26, l. 8.) But, side by side with this form, we find another in which the curve is turned outward to the left, so that the subscribed *tha* assumes the appearance of a capital Roman *S*. (Cf. No. 24, l. 13 *stha ;* No. 26, l. 7 *sthā*, l. 11 *sthi*). In the 12th century we find only the latter form, but as an innovation a stroke is attached to the foot of the *mātṛkā* and sloping down to the right. (Cf. No. 31, l. 16 *rthaṁ*, l. 18 *rthi*, l. 22 *sthi*, l. 24 *sthā*). It will be seen that here the subscribed *tha* has the appearance of medial *u* in the older inscriptions. This type is preserved during the Muhammadan period (No. 16, l. 8 *sthi ; Kuḷū grant* ll. 9, 10 *prastha*). Here I wish to draw special attention to the peculiar form of *rtha* (No. 13, ll. 8, 9, 16; No. 15, ll. 19, 27, 28; No. 28, l. 3 *rthe ;* No. 31, l. 16 *rthaṁ*, l. 18 *rthi ; Kuḷū grant* l. 13 *rthaṁ*). It will be seen that in the later examples the *ra* has been reduced to a wedge from which the subscribed *tha* hangs down. It is remarkable that this form of *rtha* occurs already in the Bakhshalai MS. (*Ind. Pal.* pl. VI, 50, VIII), where the tail is considerably lengthened and the *akṣara* closely resembles *rū*.

In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we meet with a curious cursive form of *dha* as second member of ligatures. It is rendered by a loop with a

horizontal stroke to the right attached at the foot of the *mātṛkā* (Cf. No. 16, l. 5 *gdha* and *Kuḷū grant* l. 11 *ndha* and l. 13 *ndho*). It is hardly distinguishable from subscribed *ṭha* as found in the same inscriptions (*Kuḷū grant* l. 11 *ṣṭhā*). For the old form of *n'dha cf.* No. 13, l. 15.

Bühler remarks that in the acute-angled alphabet the subscript *ya* is made ornamental and drawn far to the left. Since the 7th century the right hand upstroke of *ya* is lengthened as far as the upper line of the whole sign (*Ind. Pal.* p. 56). The peculiarity described is well illustrated in the inscriptions of Meruvarman (Nos. 5-7) where the subscribed *ya*, like medial *ī*, is made rectangular. In *vyā* (No. 5, l. 2) we find the serif indicating *ā* attached to the end of the upstroke. The Gum inscription (No. 9) shows a transition to the Śāradā, in which subscribed *ya* is expressed by a curve extended to the left, but with hardly any upstroke. (No. 14, l. 3 *ṇya;* No. 15, l. 2 *ṇyo*). This, of course, is not a secondary development from the acute-angled type, but is in reality the old form of the later Kuṣaṇa and Gupta periods. The subscript *ya* with long upstroke was apparently only the result of a temporary fashion and was in all probability exclusively used in highly ornamental inscriptions. It deserves notice that in the Śakti image inscription (No. 8) the simpler form is used. In the Baijnāth *praśastis* the subscribed *ya* is more open and less elongated than in the earlier inscriptions, so that its shape approaches that of a semi-circle open to the right. But in the later inscriptions the type differs but little from that found in the Śāradā.

It is one of the peculiar features of the Śāradā to which Bühler has drawn attention that the *ra*, as a first part of ligatures, is inserted into the left side of the second letter, just as in the Apshaḍ inscription and on Harṣa's copper-plates. It is usually slightly shortened (Cf. No. 13, ll. 7, 8 *rka; rti* passim; *rtu* l. 9; *rdha* ll. 1, 3; *rpa* l. 14; *rbha* ll. 8, 10, 17; *rbhra* l. 17; *rva* ll. 4, 16; No. 15, l. 14 *rdha*, l. 16 *rdham;* No. 24, l. 23 *rdha;* No. 26, l. 6 *rdhi*). It will be noticed that in the Sarāhaṇ inscription *rta* differs but little from *kta* and that *rdha* is very similar to *rva*, which has a slight horizontal stroke over the lower letter. In Vidagdha's grant (No. 15) the form of *rva* deserves special notice. In the Devāśeṣa inscriptions also we find such ligatures expressed in exactly the same manner, though here the *ra* has a distinct triangle at its foot (Cf. No. 16, l. 4 *rtti*, l. 5 *rma*, l. 8 *rva*).

The ligatures *rṇa*, *rtha*, *rdha* and *rya* deserve special notice, as here the *ra* has not preserved its distinctive shape quite as well as in combination with other consonants. The ligature *rṇa* changes with the single *ṇa* (Cf. No. 13, l. 5; No. 15, ll. 19, 26; No. 24, ll. 8, 13; No. 26, l. 15 and No. 31, l. 18). In the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 31) all that remains of *ra* is a wedge from which the *ṇa* (without its upstroke) is suspended. This is also the case in the Baijnāth *praśastis* (Cf. *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 45, I). It is remarkable that in the spurious plate of Vidagdha (No. 16, l. 4 *rṇā*) the two elements of the ligature are again much more distinct. The ligatures *rtha* and *rdha* have already been referred to above

Regarding the ligature *rya* in the acute-angled alphabet Bühler observes that until the 9th century it is often expressed by a full *ra* with a subscribed *ya*. In the Śāradā we find a slightly different type—a short vertical to which the curve of the *ya* is attached in one continuous stroke. In the Baijnāth *praśastis*

this subscribed *ya* assumes the same semi-circular shape as the single *mātṛkā*, and the vertical disappears almost entirely (Cf. *Baijnāth* I. 8 *vīrya* also *Ind. Pal.* pl. V, 46, I). During the Muhammadan period this form of *rya* develops a tail to the right which gives it an appearance closely resembling that of the Nāgarī *da* (Cf. No. 16, ll. 8, 9 and *Kulū grant* l. 12 *sūrya*).

In ligatures in which *ra* is the second or third member we find that letter expressed in Śāradā in exactly the same manner as in the acute-angled script,[1] namely, by an upstroke attached to the foot of the *mātṛkā* on the left side. (Cf. No. 13, l. 1 *pra*, l. 2 *śrī ;* l. 16 *dra*, etc.). This subscribed *ra* is sometimes difficult to distinguish from medial *ū* (Cf. No. 13, l. 4 *pū*). This is perhaps the reason why afterwards the rendering of it was changed. In inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we usually find post-consonantic *ra* expressed not by a stroke drawn up to the left, but by one sloping down to the right. Often it is attached to the foot of the *mātṛkā* by means of a cursive loop (Cf. No. 16, ll. 2, 3, 7 *ndra ;* ll. 2, 7 *bra ;* l. 4 *dra, śra ;* l. 6 *grā, tra ;* l. 7 *pra*). It is interesting to note that in *Śrī* (No. 16, l. 3) the ancient method is followed, evidently because the form of that word had become fixed by usage. In the Kulū grant of Bahādur Singh the upstroke is used except in *tri* (ll. 4, 6, 7, 8), *trā* (ll. 6, 14), and *dra* (l. 17). The ligatures *bhrū* (No. 13, l. 9) and *bhru* (No. 24, l. 2 and No. 25, l. 3) have already been noticed. The ligature *dhru* occurs in the Kulū grant of A.D. 1559 (l. 12 *Dhruva*) in a form which does not essentially differ from that found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta (*Ind. Pal.* pl. IV, 43, II).

It has been remarked above that in Śāradā one *akṣara* is used indiscriminately to denote *ba* and *va*. It should, however, be remarked, that in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 31) we find a distinction made between *ba* and *va* in ligatures, the former being rounded and the latter angular in shape. Cf. *mba* (ll. 5, 8), *mbi* (l. 9), *mbu* (ll. 13, 17), *mbe* (l. 16) with *tva* (ll. 6, 13, 14), *dva* (ll. 12, 13), *dvi* (ll. 8, 15), *dhva*, (l. 16), *nvi* (l. 11), *rva* (l. 16), *sva* (ll. 13, 16.) But in *mba* (l. 16) the *ba* has a decidedly angular shape.

Finally I wish to draw attention to the following ligatures: *kṣmī* (No. 13, l. 7), *gnya* (No. 24, l. 8), *gbhā* (No. 15, l. 12), *gme* (No. 13, l. 18), *ṅśo* (No. 15, l. 4), *cchā* (No. 14, ll. 2, 8), *cchrī* (No. 24, l. 9), *jjva* (No. 13, l. 12 ; No. 16, l. 1), *jjhi* (No. 13, l. 11), *ṭvā* (No. 15, l. 24), *ṇṇa* (No. 17, l. 3), *ṇpa* (No. 14, l. 3 ; No. 15, l. 1 ; No. 24, l. 2 ; No. 25, l. 3 ; No. 26, l. 2), *trya* (No. 14, l. 2), *tstha* (No. 13, l. 16), *dbhū* (No. 13, l. 4), *nthya* (No. 26, l. 17), *nthyā* (No. 15, l. 17), *ndra* (No. 13 ; l. 3, No. 15, l. 10 ; No. 16, ll. 2, 3), *psu* (No. 13, l. 9), *bja* (No. 13, l. 18), *mpū* (No. 13, l. 5), *mpra* (No. 13, ll. 4, 8), *lga* (No. 24, l. 14), *śmi* (No. 13, l. 19), *ṣka* (No. 15, l. 15), *ṣṭra* (No. 15, l. 7), *ṣṇu* (No. 13, l. 3 ; No. 16, l. 3 ; No. 33, l. 3), *stri* (No. 13, l. 4), *spṛ* (No. 24, l. 13), *sphā* (No. 24, l. 9 ; No. 25, l. 9), *sphu* (No. 13, l. 5 ; No. 24, l. 9 ; No. 25, l. 9), *sstā* (No. 18, l. 19), *ssva* (No. 26, l. 20), *hme* (No. 26, l. 2).

[1] In the inscriptions of Meru-varman the post-consonantic *ra* appears often as a highly ornamental flourish in the ligature *śrī*. Cf. No. 9, l. 2.

Chapter IV.—CHRONOLOGY.

The most difficult problem connected with the Chambā epigraphs is that of fixing their chronology. The earliest inscriptions (Nos. 1-13) do not bear any date and we have to rely entirely on palæographical evidence. The first dated inscription is the Brahmor copper-plate grant of Yugākara-varman (No. 14) of *saṁvat* 10 Vaiśākha *va. ti.* 10. But the year is evidently reckoned from the Rājā's accession, the exact time of which we have no means of ascertaining. The same is the case with the other four copper-plates of the pre-Muhammadan period. From the wording of Vidagdha's grant (No. 15) it is evident that the year refers to the period of his reign. It runs *pravardhamāṇa(na)-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare caturthe saṁvat 4 Māgha śu. ti. pratipada(t).* We read further on in the inscription that the grant was made on the occasion of the hibernal solstice (*Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrāntyāṁ*). One of the Tur inscriptions (No. 17) is dated in the first year of Vidagdha's reign *Māgha śu. ti. dvādaśyāṁ Bhaumavāre.*

The Lokakāla.

It is only in the 11th century that we meet with inscriptions dated according to a recognized era. This era is the Lokakāla or "Popular era," also called Saptarṣi-kāla[1] or "Era of the seven Seers" which is used by Kalhaṇa in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. In the Chambā inscriptions the years of this era are usually designated as *Śāstra* or *Śāstrīya saṁvatsara.* Sometimes we find simply *Śrī-saṁvat* or *saṁvat.* The term *Śāstra-saṁvat* would seem to convey a meaning opposed to that of *Loka-kāla,* namely, the year according to the Śāstras or, in other words, that used by the learned.[2] Up to the present day, however, this era is the popular reckoning used all through the Panjāb Hills, and for this reason it is now-a-days called the *Pahāṛī saṁbat.* Another modern name is *Kaccā saṁbat* which evidently refers to the practice of omitting the figure or figures which indicate the century. This circumstance renders this era highly unsatisfactory for chronological purposes, as will be amply borne out by the inscriptions of Chambā State.

The Saptarṣi reckoning is based on the assumption that the constellation of the Seven Seers (Ursa major) moves through one lunar mansion (Skr. *nakṣatra*) in 100 years, and makes one revolution in 2700 years.[3] The cycle preceding the one which is now current is reckoned to begin with Caitra *śu. ti. 1* of Kali 27 current. Cunningham asserts that the Saptarṣi era must have been known to the astronomer Vṛddhagarga who, according to Kern, lived in the first century B.C., and that probably it was used in the days of Alexander.[4] From Biruni it appears that in his time the Loka-kāla was also used in Multān, and Dr. Fleet concludes that its use in that part of the country commenced only with Śaka-saṁvat 848 expired, or A.D. 926-7 current.[5]

[1] Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras,* p. 12, gives also the modern equivalents *Sat rikhi kāl* and *Haft Rikhe-shar,* the latter being a Persianised form of the name.

[2] Cf. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 119, n. 6.

[3] Sewell-Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar,* p. 41. Cf. *Indian Thought,* Vol. I., pp. 191 and 201.

[4] Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras,* p. 15.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 213 f.

It has been surmised that a series of dates, mostly found on Mathurā sculptures, and belonging to the reigns of the Kuṣaṇa kings, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, refer to the Saptarṣi era, as in nearly all of them the figure of the year remains below 100. But most authorities agree that more probably they refer to an era founded by Kaniṣka, the starting point of which is still a matter of dispute.

In his note on the Saptarṣi era Professor Kielhorn[1] points out that, disregarding the hundreds, we must add 25 to the year of a date in that era to find the corresponding expired year within one of the centuries of the Kaliyuga; 46, to find similarly the corresponding expired Śaka year; 81, to find the corresponding expired northern Vikrama year; and 24-5, to find the corresponding year of one of the centuries of our own era.

This is well illustrated by the *cabūtrā* inscription in Chambā town which is dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1717, Śaka-saṁvat 1582, Śāstra-saṁvat 36, Vaiśākha *va. di.* 13, Wednesday, Meṣa-saṁkrānti, corresponding to the 28th March A.D. 1660.

From an examination of various dates, mostly found in MSS., Professor Kielhorn has arrived at the conclusion that since Saptarṣi 4300 (A.D. 1224) the Saptarṣi year has always, like the Śaka year, commenced with the month Caitra, and that within about the last four hundred years the scheme of the lunar months has been invariably the *pūrṇimānta* system. The earliest date, however, which Professor Kielhorn examined, and which falls in A.D. 1224, worked out properly only with the *amānta* scheme.

It is much to be regretted that in the Chambā inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period, we never find the Vikrama or Śaka era used side by side with that of the Seven Seers, so that they form no firm basis for further conclusions regarding the peculiarities of that era before A.D. 1200. Only in one instance (No. 35) do we find the date expressed both in the Śāstra year and in the Kali-yuga, but unfortunately the two do not agree and we must assume that one of them is wrongly noted.

As regards those inscriptions which are dated in the Śāstra era alone, there is, of course, first of all the uncertainty as to the century to which they refer. As stated above, the practice is to omit the hundreds and, as soon as the reckoning reaches 100, to start a fresh hundred from 1.[2] In some of the inscriptions we find, in addition to the Śāstra date, the regnal year of the ruling chief. In such cases the century can usually be established with the aid of the external evidence afforded by the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and by the Chambā Vaṁśāvalī to be discussed in the next chapter. The former mentions a few of the Chambā Rājās and the latter document is fairly reliable for the period A.D. 1000-1200. Both supply only approximate dates, but suffice in most cases to establish the century in which a certain Rājā ruled. If, therefore, a document is dated both in the Śāstra era and in a regnal year, it is possible to fix its date, provided the date is correctly noted. Five of the inscriptions in the present volume are dated in the reign of Rājās who apparently belonged to the neighbouring Hill State of Balor, the Vallāpura of the Rājata-

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, pp. 149 ff.

[2] Among the copper-plate grants of Rājā Balabhadra of Chambā there is one dated Vikrama 1686, Śāstra 105. It is a unique instance of the Śāstra reckoning being carried beyond 100.

raṅgiṇī. Here we have to resort to the Vaṁśāvalī of the Balauria Rājās which is, unfortunately, even more corrupt and confused than that of Chambā. The document in question will be fully discussed in an Appendix to this volume.

The problem becomes more intricate if the inscription contains only one date. In some cases it is not clear whether the year is a regnal one or refers to the Śāstra era. A regnal year supplies in most cases only an approximate date, as the year of accession of only a few of the Chambā rulers can be fixed. If the day of the week is mentioned, an attempt can be made to fix the exact date or alternative dates within a certain period.

In case the inscription is only dated according to the Śāstra era, we have to rely entirely on internal evidence. It will often be possible to find the century in instances in which the day of the week is mentioned. But I need hardly say that the results thus obtained are doubtful, considering that so little is yet known regarding the exact use of the Śāstra era in the pre-Muhammadan period. Another question is, how far the documents themselves can be trusted. The fountain inscriptions which supply our chief chronological data are almost invariably so full of orthographical and grammatical errors that there is much reason to doubt their accuracy in astronomical matters. In fact, in two cases—the Sālhī and Sai inscriptions—it can be proved that the dates are wrongly noted. It is singularly unfortunate that in inscriptions like the *praśastis* of Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī (No. 32) and Mūl Kihār (No. 34), where more reliable information might be expected, the portions containing the date are damaged or destroyed.

I now proceed to discuss in detail the conclusions, more or less certain, which can be deduced from the chronological data of our documents.

Date of Trailokyadeva of Balor.

Three fountain-inscriptions, at Ḍaḍvāṛ (No. 20), Bhakūṇḍ (No. 21) and Naghai (No. 22), all of them villages belonging to the Curāh *wazārat*, are dated in the reign of a Rājā Trailokyadeva. His name is not found in the Chambā Vaṁśāvalī but occurs twice in that of the Balauriā Rājās.[1] In one place he stands as the immediate predecessor of Kalaśa-pāla and in the other he is separated from the latter by two reigns. We may assume that he reigned a short time before Kalaśa-pāla who can be identified with Kalaśa of Vallāpura, a contemporary of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) and Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) of Kaśmīr.[2] The date of Trailokya would, therefore, fall in the first half of the 11th century. In two of the three inscriptions mentioned above the date is partly lost. In the third—that of Ḍaḍvāṛ—the last portion of the Rājā's name is missing; but from the remaining part (*Śrīmat-Trailo-*) it can be restored with certainty. It was in all probability followed by the year of his reign. The preceding *saṁvat 17* must therefore refer to the Śāstra era. In the second line we find the full date *saṁva[t] 17 Jyeṣṭha va. ti. 12 Bṛhaspati-vāre Revatī-naksatre*. The Śāstra year 17 must correspond to the year 41 of some century of the Christian era. On the strength of palæographical evidence we may safely assume that the Ḍaḍvāṛ

[1] In the copy which I obtained at Basōhlī the name is spelt in one place चैलीराय (*i. e.* चलोक्य राय) and in another चलीकाक्ष (*sic*).

Rājat. VII, 220, 588; transl. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 287 and 315.

inscription is not earlier than A.D. 941 and not later than A.D. 1241. We are, therefore, limited to the four years A.D. 941, 1041, 1141 and 1241. Supposing the month to be *pūrṇimānta*, we should obtain the following equivalent dates for Jyeṣṭha *va. ti.* 12: Monday, 26th April 941, Thursday, 30th April 1041, Monday, 5th May 1141, and Thursday, 9th May 1241. In case the month were *amānta*, the dates would be the following: Tuesday, 25th May 941, Friday, 29th May 1041, Tuesday, 3rd June 1141, and Friday, 7th June 1241.

It will be seen that in two cases the day of the week is Thursday, as required by the inscription; but only Thursday, 30th April 1041, fully agrees, as on that date the *nakṣatra* was Revatī, whereas on Thursday, 9th May 1241, it was Aśvinī. This conclusion is confirmed by palæographical evidence and tallies with the data supplied by the Vaṁśāvalī and the Rājataraṅgiṇī.

The Bhakūṇḍ inscription (No. 21) is dated in the Śāstra year 4 and in the reign of Trailokya-deva, but the regnal year as well as month and *tithi* are lost. This epigraph can, therefore, not be used to check the conclusions drawn from the previous one. All we can say is that the year corresponding to Śāstra 4 must be A.D. 1028-9. It follows that Trailokya's reign falls in the second quarter of the 11th century.

This result will enable us to fix the approximate date of Ananta's campaign against Balor. It is stated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī that on the occasion of this expedition Ananta was successfully opposed by Tukka's son, Kalaśa the lord of Vallāpura. It is clear that Ananta's campaign cannot have taken place before A.D. 1041, as at that time Trailokya still ruled in Vallāpura. In case Kalaśa succeeded his father Tukka—whom apparently the Vaṁśāvalī mentions under the name of Tuṅga as Kalaśa's successor—we should still have to account for the latter's reign, and we may, therefore, assume that Kalaśa's accession probably did not take place before A.D. 1050. We know from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that he was still alive in the winter of 1087-8. As Ananta abdicated in A.D. 1063, it follows that his expedition against Vallāpura happened in the concluding period of his reign, probably between A.D. 1050 and 1060. The approximate date of that event may, therefore, be taken to be A.D. 1055.

Immediately before, the chronicle mentions that Ananta "uprooted" Sāla, the ruler of Campā, and placed a new ruler on the throne. We may perhaps assume that Ananta's campaign against Vallāpura and that against Campā were in reality one and the same; and that on his return from the latter place by way of Balor his worn-out troops were attacked by the ruler of this Hill-State. In any case, it is probable that the dethronement of Sāla, or Sālavāhana, as he is called in our inscriptions, took place about the same time.

Date of Soma-varman of Chambā.

Sālavāhana was succeeded by his son, Soma-varman, of whom we possess three inscriptions. The fountain inscription of Bāhṇotā (No. 23) would have enabled us to fix the date of his accession, had it been entire. For it is, or rather was, dated both in the Śāstra era and in Soma-varman's reign. Unfortunately both the years are destroyed, and all that remains of the date is *A-śu. ti. 15 Saurīdine Aśvinī-nakṣatre.*

The Kulait copper-plate grant of Soma-varman (No. 24) is dated in the 7th year of his reign. The donation was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse (l. 23

sūrya-grahaṇa-nimitte), but this cannot have been on the date of the inscription which is not *Amāvāsyā*, but *Bhā[drapada] śu. ti.* 3.

Date of Āsaṭa of Chambā.

The other copper-plate grant of Soma-varman (No. 25) was evidently made towards the end of his reign, as the charter is dated in the first year of Āsaṭa, his brother and successor. The full date of the inscription is: *rājye śrīmad-Āsaṭa-devīye saṁvatsare prathame Vaiśākha-sita-tri* (*tṛ*)*tīyāyāṁ Śukravāreṇa.* An addition to the original charter is dated *Saṁvat 11 Bhādrapada śu. ti. 12.* The day of the week is lost with a corner of the plate, but the initial *sa* is partly preserved. It has no superscribed vowel-mark, but may have had the sign for medial *ū*, as the lower portion of the *akṣara* is missing. The day of the week is, therefore, most probably *Sūryadine* "Sunday."

We have seen above that Soma-varman succeeded his father about A.D. 1055. He reigned at least seven years, as is proved by the Kulait copper-plate. It is, therefore, improbable that the year of Āsaṭa's accession should lie farther back than A.D. 1060. Within the period from A.D. 1060 to 1088 (the year in which Āsaṭa visited Śrīnagar as Rājā of Chambā) Vaiśākha *śu. ti.* 3 fell three times on Friday. The corresponding dates are the following: 31st March 1066, 16th April 1070, and 28th March 1080. Unfortunately the second date of the inscription, assuming the day to be Sunday, does not tally with any of the three dates just-mentioned.

The title-deed issued by Āsaṭa in the fifth year of his reign is of no use for chronological purposes, as the day of the week is omitted. But we possess another inscription dated in the year of Āsaṭa's accession, in which full particulars are given. It is the Sīyā fountain inscription (No. 27), dated as follows: *Śrī-Āsaṭa-deva-rājye saṁvat 1 Māgha śu. ti. 13 Candradine Ārdr*[*ā*]*-nakṣatre.* It may be considered as certain that the year mentioned in this date does not refer to the Śāstra era, but is a regnal year, as Āsaṭa cannot have reigned either in A.D. 1025 or in A.D. 1125. The year of his accession, as stated above, probably lies between A.D. 1060 and 1088. Within this period *Māgha śu. ti. 13* fell three times on Monday. The equivalent Christian dates are, 13th January 1074, 10th January 1077, and 26th January 1081. On the two first-mentioned dates the *nakṣatra* was Ārdrā, so that either of the two could be the date of the Sīyā inscription. Unfortunately the result thus obtained disagrees with that derived from the copper-plate grant previously discussed. In one of the two inscriptions the date appears to have been wrongly noted. All we can say at present is that Āsaṭa probably succeeded his brother Soma-varman between A.D. 1070 and 1080.

Date of Jāsaṭa of Chambā.

A discussion of the date of Āsaṭa's successor Jāsaṭa leads to more satisfactory results. Here the data are contained in two fountain inscriptions: that of Luj (No. 28) and that of Lōh-Ṭikrī (No. 29). The Luj inscription is dated *saṁ. 81 Śrī-mahārājā-Jāsaṭha-pratha-ma-varśa* (read *Śrī-mahārāja-Jāsaṭa-prathama-varṣe*). The Śāstra year 81 corresponds to the year 5-6 of some century of the Christian era. It is clear that this century can only have been the 12th and that the full Śāstra date is consequently 4181 corresponding to A.D. 1105-6. The month, as stated in the inscription (l. 4), was *Pośa* (read *Pauṣa*), but the number of the *tithi* is omitted.

In the year given the first day of Pauṣa, according to the Pūrṇimānta system, would correspond to Wednesday, 14th November 1105. According to the Amānta system it would be Wednesday, 28th November 1105. The date of the Luj inscription lies therefore within the months November and December 1105; and Jāsaṭa's accession must have taken place between November 1104 and December 1105.

The Lōh-Ṭikrī inscription (No. 29) enables us to check the conclusion arrived at. It is dated *saṁvat 9 . . . . . Jāsaṭṭadeva-rājye Jyeṣṭha va. ti. dvādaśyāṁ Sūryadine Revatyāṁ nakṣatre.* Here the year cannot be referred to the Śāstra era, as Jāsaṭa cannot have reigned either in A.D. 1033 or in A.D. 1133. In A.D. 1122 we find Udaya-varman mentioned as Rājā of Chambā in the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī (VIII 1083), and Jāsaṭa's reign must, therefore, have previously come to an end. It follows that the year 9 of the Lōh-Ṭikrī inscription can only be a regnal year. As Jāsaṭa's accession took place between November 1104 and December 1105, the present date must lie between November 1112 and December 1114.

Within that period *Jyeṣṭha va. ti. 12*, if *Pūrṇimānta*, may correspond either to Wednesday, 14th May A.D. 1113, or to Sunday, 3rd May 1114. In case the *Amānta* system is followed, the alternative equivalent dates will be Thursday, 12th June A.D. 1113, and Tuesday, 2nd June A.D. 1114. It will be seen that the day of the week only agrees for Sunday, 3rd May 1114, on which date, moreover, the *nakṣatra* was Revatī, as required by the inscription. Professor Kielhorn, who concurred in my conclusions, informed me that "the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Jyeṣṭha ended on that day about 22 hours, and the *nakṣatra* was Revatī for 15 hours 46 minutes after mean sunrise."

As the 3rd May 1106 as well as November-December 1105 fell within Jāsaṭa's first regnal year, it follows that his accession must have taken place between 4th May and the end of December A.D. 1105.

Date of Lalita-varman of Chambā.

The next ruler of Chambā, of whom epigraphical records exist, is Lalita-varman. The Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 32) is dated in the 17th year of his reign, but the Śāstra date is lost. The Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33) is dated as follows: *śrīmal-Lalitavarmadeva-vijaya-rājye saṁvat 27 Śāstrīya-saṁvat 46 Śrā[vaṇa*-]śu. ti. 13 Ravidine Mūla-nakṣatre.* It is evident from the *Vaṁśāvalī* that Lalita-varman must have ruled in the 12th century. The data supplied by the Sālhī inscription ought, therefore, to enable us to fix the year of his accession. Unfortunately there is reason to doubt the correctness of the notation.

The following is a note by the late Professor Kielhorn, in which this date has been fully discussed:—

"In my opinion the *Śāstrīya-saṁvat* probably is 46. But as the second figure is doubtful, I have examined the date for each of the ten Śāstrīya years from 40 to 49 in the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D., *i.e.* for the years A.D. 1064-73, 1164-73 and 1264-73 and 1364-73. In none of these forty years is there a Sunday, on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa ended, and on which the *nakṣatra* at the same time was Mūla. The *tithi* ended on a Sunday:

Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1066; nakṣatra Śrāvaṇa.
Sunday, the 2nd August A.D. 1164; „ Uttarāṣāḍha.
Sunday, the 8th August A.D. 1367; „ Uttarāṣāḍha.

There cannot, therefore, be the slightest doubt that the date, if it does fall between A.D. 1000 and 1400, is incorrect."

"If the *tithi* were the 12th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, the date, for Śāstrīya-saṁvat 46, would correspond to Sunday, the 26th July A.D. 1170, but even on this day the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvāṣāḍha, not Mūla."

"If the month of the date were Āṣāḍha, not Śrāvaṇa, the date for the year 46 would regularly correspond to Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1170, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 17 m.; while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 13 h. 8 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise."

"That the Sunday and the Mūla-nakṣatra have been correctly quoted seems to me pretty certain, because the combination of the two is a very auspicious occurrence, being called *amṛtayoga*."

It follows from the above that Lalita-varman's accession probably took place in A.D. 1143 or 1144 and that the date of the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* of his 17th year must be A.D. 1159, 1160 or 1161.

Date of Raṇa-pāla of Balor.

The Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī fountain bears another inscription (No. 31) which consists only of the following date: *Śrīmad-Raṇapāla-dēva-vijaya-rājye vartamāṇe(ne) saṁvat 2 Āśva. va. ti. 8 Budhadiṇe(ne)*. It is not evident whether the date refers to the reign of Raṇa-pāla or to the Śāstra era. In the latter case the corresponding Christian year would be A.D. 1226-7. As the inscription cannot be earlier than the fountain enclosure, the date cannot be A.D. 1126-7. Nor is it likely for palæographical reasons that it would be as late as A.D. 1326-7. If, therefore, the year is a Śāstra year, the corresponding date would be either, Tuesday, 15th September, or Thursday, 15th October A.D. 1226, according to the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* system respectively. But in neither of the two cases do we obtain the required day of the week.

Assuming the year to be a regnal one, there exists the likelihood of the inscription being contemporaneous with the fountain enclosure which was built in A.D. 1159, 1160 or 1161. For these three years we get the following dates corresponding to *Āśvina va. ti.* 8: Monday, 7th September (*pūrṇimānta*) and Tuesday, 6th October (*amānta*) A.D. 1159; Friday, 27th August (*pūrṇimānta*) and Sunday, 26th September (*amānta*) A.D. 1160; and Thursday, 14th September (*pūrṇimānta*) and Saturday, 14th October (*amānta*) A.D. 1161. It will be seen that none of these six dates falls on Wednesday, the day mentioned in the inscription. If, however, we disregard the intercalary month Āṣāḍha in the last-mentioned year, in other words, if we take *Bhādrapada va. ti. 8* (*pūrṇimānta*), we should obtain Wednesday, the 16th August 1161.

Another question to be noted in this connection is: Who was Raṇa-pāla in whose reign the inscription is dated? He bears the titles assigned to a ruling chief, but his name does not occur in the Vaṁśāvalī of the Chambā Rājās. The cognomen *pāla* raises the presumption that he was a ruler of the neighbouring State of Balor. In the genealogical list of the Balauriā rājās we find the names *Raṇa-malla*, *Rājā Raṇūl* and *Aruṇa-malla* which I believe to be all corruptions of *Raṇa-pāla*. It still remains to explain how the name of this Raṇa-pāla can occur on a fountain built by a feudatory of Lalita-varman of Chambā and, as stated in the *praśasti*, in the latter's reign.

The most plausible explanation seems to me that the Balauriā Rājā conquered Curāh and had his name carved on the fountain of Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī, in token of his victory over his Chambā rival. If so, it must have happened after A.D. 1170, as Lalitavarman was in that year still the acknowledged ruler of Pāṅgī. Our chronological

data are unfortunately too vague to allow us to arrive at more certain conclusions.

Date of Ajaya-pāla of Balor.

Another chronological puzzle is furnished by the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35). The date runs thus: *śāstrīye saṁvāt 1 Caitrā va. ti. daśamyāṁ Kalir gataṁ varśāṇāṁ* 4270 *khasitaṁ* (?) *427[7*]30 ubhau Kali-pramāṇaṁ 432000 . . . . śrīma[d]-Ajaya-pāla-deva-rājye saṁvat . . . .*

The date is expressed in three different ways; in the Śāstra era, in the Kali-yuga and in the regnal year of Ajaya-pāla. The use of the Kali-yuga is of special interest, as it is hardly ever resorted to in epigraphical records.[1] Not only is the actual year (*i.e.* the number of years elapsed) given as 4270, but also the number of the remaining years of the period, namely, 427,730 (the second 7 has been left out by mistake in the inscription, or may we assume that the mark above is a kind of *tashdīd?*), the two figures together yielding 432,000 as the total number of years of which the "Era of Sin" consists. Kali 4270 corresponds to A.D. 1168-69, or in the case of expired years A.D. 1169-70. The expression *Kalir-gataṁ varśāṇāṁ* 4270 probably stands for *Kaleṛ-gata-varṣāṇi* 4270; in any case the use of the word *gata* indicates that expired years are meant. It is interesting, that the same method of noting the remaining years of the Kali-yuga is still followed in calendars used in Kaśmīr.[2]

The date Caitra *va. ti.* 10 of Kali 4270, the year being expired, would correspond to A.D. 1170, March 14, Saturday. There is, however, reason to doubt the correctness of the date. The Śāstra year corresponding to the Kali year 4270 would be 4245 (current) but —strange to say—the inscription shows only traces of one figure which can hardly be anything but the numeral 1.[3] This discrepancy is difficult to explain. The way in which the Kali date is noted, shows that there can have been no mistake on the part of the stone-mason, though he certainly left out a figure in the second number indicating the remaining years of the Kali-yuga. May we assume that the author of the inscription, who evidently was not a man of great culture, noted a wrong year of the Kali-yuga, or are we to believe that he did not even know the year of the popular Śāstra era? The former alternative seems the more plausible.

Assuming then that the Śāstra year 1 is correct, we should have to choose between 4201 (corresponding to Kali 4227) and 4301 (corresponding to Kali 4327). On account of the character I do not think it possible that the inscription belongs either to the 11th or to the 14th century. It will be noticed that both the numbers 4227 and 4327 have three figures in common with 4270, the Kali year mentioned in the inscription. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that the latter has been erroneously substituted for one or other of the two former. The corresponding Christian

[1] Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* Introd. p. 69 footnote. To the instances quoted by Dr. Fleet I may add the stone inscription in the temple of Trilōknāth (Śiva) at Maṇḍi, the capital of the Hill State of the same name, dated Śaka 1442, Kali-yuga 4622 (A.D. 1520) and the Khunmoh (Kaśmīr) stone inscription dated Kali 4530, Śāstra saṁvat 4 (A.D. 1428) in the reign of Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, pp. 149 f.

[3] Unfortunately the Śāstra year is also doubtful. It will be noticed that after the partly destroyed symbol which I read "one" there is an open space, perhaps meant for a second figure.

dates would be Tuesday, 31st March 1125, or Friday, 4th April 1225. On account of the script, I consider the latter date the more probable of the two.

In the second line we find a third date, expressed in the regnal year of a ruler of the name of Ajaya-pāla. But after the word *saṁvat* there is a blank, the figure of the year having been omitted. Ajaya-pāla bears the full titles of a ruling chief, but his name does not occur in the genealogical roll of the Rājās of Chambā. The surname *-pāla* of itself indicates that he did not belong to the house of Mūṣuṇa. We know, however, that the chiefs of the neighbouring Hill State of Balor (Skr. Vallāpura) were distinguished by that surname. Their influence over Curāh has already been proved by the inscriptions of Trailokya-deva. It is therefore not unreasonable to hope that in the present case also their *Vaṁśāvali* will help us to solve the problem.

The genealogical list of the Balauriās contains the name Ajaya-pāla as fifth descendant of Kalaśa-pāla and as son and successor of Aruṇa-malla. In another place in the *Vaṁśāvali* we find the same name in the Hindī form *Aje Pāl*, as son of Rājā Raṇūl. I have pointed out above that *Aruṇa-malla* and *Rājā Raṇûl* are both probably corruptions of *Raṇa-pāla*, so that in all probability Ajaya-pāla was the son and successor of Raṇa-pāla whose name occurs in one of the Ḍēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscriptions (No. 31). If this conclusion is correct, it would afford fresh proof that at the end of the 12th and in the beginning of the 13th century the Balauriā Rājās held temporary sway over Curāh. I may add that the omission of the figure of the regnal year to a certain extent supports my conjecture. The man who composed the inscription would have had no difficulty in ascertaining the year of accession of a local ruler. But the circumstance that the exact duration of Ajaya-pāla's reign was evidently unknown to the people of Sai, points to the fact that he was an alien prince, whose capital was situated at a considerable distance. The author of the inscription evidently failed to obtain the desired information and the year of Ajaya-pāla's accession has remained a blank up to the present day.

If then we may assume that the Ajaya-pāla of the Sai inscription was a Rājā of Balor, we have proof of the Kali date being wrongly noted. For in the years A.D. 1160 and 1170 we find Lalita-varman of Chambā as acknowledged liege-lord of two Rāṇās in Curāh and in Pāṅgī. It is, therefore, highly improbable that in A.D. 1170 a Rāṇā of Sai should have been the vassal of the ruler of Balor.

It is to be hoped that fresh epigraphical discoveries in Chambā will add to our chronological material. At present the conclusions arrived at are to a large degree uncertain. Before leaving the subject, I wish to note one point. In the Ḍaḍvār and Lōh-Ṭikrī inscriptions, which have yielded more satisfactory results than any of the other epigraphs discussed, the dates work out well according to the *pūrṇimānta* system. This renders it probable that this system was followed in connection with the Śāstra era, not only in the Muhammadan period but also in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Chapter V.—THE CHAMBĀ VAṀŚĀVALĪ.

Use of Vaṁśāvalīs.

From ancient times it has been the custom among the royal and noble families of India to keep a careful record of their pedigree. Kalhaṇa mentions several "Lists of Kings" which he had consulted when composing his Rājataraṅginī. "Eleven works of former scholars," he says,[1] "containing the chronicles of the kings, I have inspected." Kalhaṇa's book itself is, as the name "River of Kings" indicates, in reality an amplified Vaṁśāvalī of the rulers of Kaśmīr. Inserted in laudatory inscriptions are often found the pedigrees of donors which, no doubt, had been taken from authentic genealogies. This is definitely stated in the Pālam well inscription of the reign of Balban preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archæology (Catalogue No. B. 3). After the poet has enumerated both the paternal and maternal pedigrees of the founder of the well, a Ṭhākur of the name of Uḍhar, he proceeds to say (verse 19): "In the composition known as 'the Genealogy' (*Vaṁśāvalī*) both pedigrees have already been fully described, here in this Eulogy (*Praśasti*) the names have only been reproduced to call them to memory." Among the Chambā epigraphs we have an instance of a Vaṁśāvalī in the Mūl-Kihār fountain inscription (No. 34).

William Moorcroft[2] was the first to draw the attention of students of Indian history to the existence of such documents in the Panjāb Hills. While staying with the famous Kaṭōc Rājā Saṁsār Cand of Kāṅgṛā, he notes the following: "Sansar Chand deduces his descent from Mahadeo, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy of this document, and some Kashmir Pundits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse, and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family." It is a well-known fact that Moorcroft never returned to take possession of his copy of the Kaṭōc Vaṁśāvalī which his noble host had ordered to be prepared for him.

Historical value.

Cunningham fully recognised the historical importance of the Vaṁśāvalīs. In speaking of that of the Kaṭōces, he remarks: "Their genealogy from the time of the founder Susarma Chandra appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief than any one of the long strings of names shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana." The correctness of this remark with regard to other Vaṁśāvalīs also is borne out by the fact that they contain names known from epigraphical or literary sources. In his account of the Panjāb Hill States he published lists of the Rājās of Kāṅgṛā, Nūrpur, Maṇḍi, Chambā and Rājaurī. A list of the Rājās of Kuḷū, evidently drawn from a Vaṁśāvalī, had been previously edited by Captain Harcourt.[3]

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[1] *Rājat.* I, 14; transl. Stein, Vol. 1, p. 3.

[2] *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145.

[3] Cunningham, *A. R. S.* Vol. V. p. 152 (Kāṅgṛā), Vol. XII, p. 108 (Rājaurī), pp. 114 f. (Chambā), p. 118 (Nūrpur), p. 122 (Maṇḍī) and *Ancient Geography*, p. 135 (Basōhlī and Bhaḍu). For Kāṅgṛā *cf.* also Duff, *Chronology*, p. 306 f. Harcourt, *Kooloo*, Appendix. A genealogy of Bhadarvāh has been published in my *Annual Progress Report* for 1903-4, p. 63.

The Chambā Vaṁśāvalī contains, besides the names of the Rājās already published by Cunningham, an account of the more prominent among them. Its value as a historical document has been fully proved by the study of the inscriptions, which, on the one hand, has confirmed its credibility and, on the other, derived from it much support in deciding chronological questions. I have, therefore, thought it fit to edit here, with the permission of His Highness the Rājā of Chambā, the Vaṁśavalī both in original and in English translation. In my subsequent historical notes, I shall often have occasion to refer to this document which, together with the inscriptions and the Kaśmīr Chronicle, forms our chief source of information for Chambā history.

Manuscripts.

The present edition of the Vaṁśāvalī is based on only one manuscript of recent date. Notwithstanding repeated enquiries, I have not succeeded in recovering any other copy in Sanskrit. There existed—so I am told—an authentic copy which was preserved by the Rājaguru, but was accidentally destroyed by fire. An Urdū version of this document is still extant, and forms the basis of the history of Chambā published in the State Gazetteer by Dr. J. Hutchison.[1] From a comparison of the two it appears that the lost State Vaṁśāvalī cannot have materially differed from the copy here edited, though perhaps it was somewhat fuller in detail and composed in less corrupt Sanskrit. That it was a document of any literary pretensions may rightly be doubted. Besides the Sanskrit manuscript, there exist a certain number of "bansaulīs" in the vernacular. Though these are clearly translations from the Sanskrit, they may sometimes be consulted with advantage as a help in elucidating obscure passages. They are, however, to be used with due caution, as their compilers themselves have often failed to understand the original.

Contents.

The Sanskrit Vaṁśāvalī is metrical throughout and consists of 120 stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* (*Śloka*) metre commonly used in epic compositions. It may be divided into a mythical and a historical portion, but it should be understood that the former presumably contains historical and the latter certainly legendary elements. The mythical portion which is comprised in the first 34 stanzas is based on the Purāṇas. It contains 112 names of kings which agree very closely with those found in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (*Skandha* 9, *Adhyāya* 1-12). Often there is verbal agreement, so that we may assume that this book formed the source for the Puranic portion of the Vaṁśāvalī. It is nothing but a string of names; only sparingly, a few details are inserted regarding the most prominent personages in the list.

The progenitor of the Solar Race is Nārāyaṇa who is followed by Brahmā, Marīci, Kaśyapa, Vivasvant, Manu, and so on. The thirty-fourth of the list is Campa, the mythical founder of the town of Campā, namely, that on the Ganges; and the forty-fourth Bhagīratha the hero of the well-known myth of the descent of that river from heaven. In verse 20 we find Rāma the *heros eponymos* of the

[1] A Chronicle of Chambā was published by Mr. W. Buchanan in *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. III, p. 208, and *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. IV, pp. 12, 31, 54, 72, 93, 114 and 133. It was "compiled from vernacular scraps prepared by Thakur Dás of the Scotch Mission, in the Chambá State, and from a kind of native chronicle of that Punjab Himálayan State." It is very incorrect as regards proper names.

Rāmāyaṇa, and in the next verse king Nala, the husband of the faithful Damayantī. The eighty-first of the list is Maru the reviver of the Solar Race, who is said to have settled in the village of Kalāpa. In the Śākya, Śuddhoda and Lāṅgala, mentioned in verse 33, we recognise Śākyamuni the Buddha, his father (here his son!) Śuddhodana and his son (here his grandson) Rāhula. With Sumitra, the 112th from Nārāyaṇa the Solar Race is said to have become extinct.

Here, from verse 35, begins the second part which relates to the history of Chambā. The compiler has not shown much skill in connecting the Puranic portion with his own composition. He has simply gone back to Maru mentioned twenty-six generations before as the reviver of the Solar Race and promotes him to the rank of progenitor of the Chambā Rājās. We shall not follow his narrative here, but only consider its value as a historical document.

Composition and historical value.

The Vaṁśāvalī, in its present shape, is undoubtedly a modern composition. It breaks off abruptly in the midst of the Nūrpur war and can, therefore, not have been compiled before A.D. 1642. Possibly it belongs to a still later date, as the concluding portion seems to be missing. It was evidently written at a time when the knowledge of Sanskrit was very scanty. The 11th or 12th century would have produced something better.

On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the compiler used documents of a much earlier date. Otherwise it would be inexplicable that the names of Rājās, who lived many centuries before, are placed in the right order of succession. Clearly these names could not have been preserved by merely verbal tradition. There is, however, no evidence of any portions of older records having been embodied in the Vaṁśāvalī. The language is throughout ungrammatical and the mode of expression clumsy. Already in verse 86 we find mention made of the Mughals (Sanskritized as *Mudgala!*) in the reign of Vijaya-varman, who cannot have ruled later than the 13th century. It seems, therefore, that the biographical particulars contained in the Vaṁśāvalī are mainly derived from oral tradition. This explains why the Narasiṁha temple at Brahmor is wrongly ascribed to Meru-varman (verse 45), and why we are told that the inscription on the brazen bull of Śiva contains an edict (Skr. *śāsana*) of that ruler (verse 47). The compiler merely repeats traditions which are still current at Brahmor. Yet most of such traditions are undoubtedly based on history and sometimes receive corroboration from authentic records. The account of the restoration of the Chambā shrines by Pratāp Siṅgh (verses 98-103)—leaving aside the personal interference of Viṣṇu—is fully confirmed by a copper-plate issued by that prince on the occasion of the consecration of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple.

Of the great majority of Rājās the Vaṁśāvalī mentions nothing but their names; of a few a comparatively long account is given in which often trifling details are treated at a length out of proportion to the limited size of the chronicle. It can hardly be a matter of doubt that the anonymous writer was a Brāhmaṇ. His history is largely a *historia sacra* and he dwells with evident delight on miraculous events and pious acts, such as the foundation of sanctuaries and donations to the twice-born. The efficacy of asceticism (*tapas*) is also duly exemplified.

We may further surmise that the author was a native of Chambā, and perhaps held some distinguished position at the Rājā's court. This explains his partiality to his native land and its rulers. We know from contemporaneous Muhammadan historians that the part taken by Pṛthvī Siṅgh of Chambā in the reduction of Jagat Siṅgh, the warlike Rājā of Nūrpur, was humbler than the Chambā chronicler would fain make us believe. We are, therefore, all the more justified in not too readily accepting his statement of the great victories won by Vijaya-varman over the Kīras and Kaśmīras—not to speak of the "Mudgalas"—of which the Kaśmīr chronicles know nothing. May we ascribe to the same propensity—either of the compiler or more probably of some earlier annalist—that we miss in his list the name of Sālavāhana, who, as we know from Kalhaṇa, was "uprooted" by Anantadeva of Kaśmīr?

Whatever the shortcomings of the composer of our Vaṁśāvalī may be, it would be unfair not to recognise that, thanks to his efforts, a considerable number of ancient legends and traditions, partly based on history, have been preserved which otherwise might have become lost. The chief value, however, of the document for the present work lies in its core—the list of Chambā Rājās. In connection with what has been said above regarding the unsatisfactory methods of dating the inscriptions, it will be evident that a reliable list of the rulers mentioned therein must be of real help in deciding chronological questions. The trustworthiness of the list can, on the other hand, be tested by the epigraphical records, and this has been done with the following results.

Among the eighteen Rājās from Maru to Sāhilla, who are said to have ruled at Brahmor, only Meru-varman is definitely proved by his inscriptions to be a historical person. Ādi-varman, Deva-varman and Mūṣaṇa-varman are also historical, at least if we may identify them with the Āditya-varman, Divākara- (or Deva-) varman and Mūṣūṇa of the inscriptions. But in any case, these eighteen names, if historical, are not placed in the right order, for we do not find the names of Meru-varman's father, grandfather and great-grandfather in the same succession in which they occur in two of his inscriptions. The name of Maru, as we have seen, has been arbitrarily taken from the Purāṇa. He is, therefore, as little entitled to the rank of founder of the Cambyāl clan as Kalāpa-grāma (wherever that place may be) is to be regarded as their ancestral home. In Meru-varman's inscriptions the historical progenitor of his race is mentioned under the name of Mūṣūṇa.

From Sāhilla onwards the names can in general be proved to be historical and are, moreover, placed in the correct order, but occasionally names appear to have been left out, transposed or interpolated. We may, therefore, assume that from the time that the town of Chambā became the seat of government a genealogical roll was kept which, though not without undergoing some modifications, has been preserved in the present Vaṁśāvalī. From A.D. 1330 onwards the correctness of the list is attested by an uninterrupted series of epigraphical records.

Geographical names.

From what has been remarked above, it will be clear that the Vaṁśāvalī cannot possess any real value for the ancient geography of Chambā. We find indeed place-names—either written in their modern form, such as *Pāṅgī* (spelled *Pāñī* v. 58), *Hol(a)* (v. 102),

Bhalehī (v. 119), *Sukhet(a)* (v. 56), and *Kalanor(a)* (v. 120); or wrongly sanskritised, e.g. *Kola* (vv. 114 and 115) instead of *Kulūta* and *Gurjjarātra* (v. 91) for *Gurjara-rāṣṭra* (*Gujrāt*). The only names given in their correct Sanskrit form are *Campā* (v. 69, etc.), *Irāvatī* (v. 70, etc.) and *Kaśmīra*. For *Kāṅgṛā* we find once the correct ancient name *Trigarta* (v. 93), but elsewhere the Rājā of that district is indicated as *Nāgarakoṭika* (v. 104), an adjective derived from the name *Nagar-kōṭ*. It need hardly be demonstrated that the form *Varmapura*, adopted by Cunningham as the ancient name of Brahmor, apparently on no other authority than the Vaṁśāvalī, is purely imaginary. The document itself affords convincing proof to that effect, for it asserts (verse 37) that "Varmapura" (alleged to have been named after the *Varman* dynasty) was founded by Maru, although it is not till four generations after him (verse 39) that the first Varman, named Ādi-varman, appears on the scene! But all discussion on this point is superfluous, as we now possess two early inscriptions which prove the ancient name of Brahmor to have been *Brahmapura*.

There is hardly more reason for accepting the forms *Budha-sarit* (v. 4), *Devalā* (v. 49), *Śālikā* (v. 50) and *Caṭī* (v. 105) as the genuine ancient names of the Budhal river, the village Dyōl, the Sālā stream and the village of Caṛī in Kāṅgṛā. It is curious to meet with a place-name *Mukuṭa-koṭa* (v. 78) which occurs also in an inscription (No. 17) under the form *Makuṭa*, but there is no proof that in both cases the same place is meant.

TEXT.

ओं श्रीगुरवे नमः

विश्वं सृष्ट्वा पालयित्वंहृतं कल्पान्ते मायया गुणैर्यः प्रणम्य ।
तं लाभायेष्टस्य नारायणं संवीता कण्ठे सूर्यवंशावलीयम् ॥ १ ॥

First Part.

स्वयंभूर्नाभिकमलादासीन्नारायणस्य तु ।
मरीचिर्मनसस्तस्य[1] तस्माज्जातस्तु कश्यपः ॥ २ ॥
प्रजापतिरतोऽदित्यां विवस्वान्मनुरात्मजः ।
विवस्वतः श्राद्धदेवः क्षुवतो घ्राणतो मनोः ॥ ३ ॥
पुत्र इक्ष्वाकुरभवद्विकुक्षिस्तस्य चात्मजः ।
विकुक्षेरभवत्पुत्रः पुरंजय इति श्रुतः ॥ ४ ॥
इन्द्रवाहककुत्स्थाभ्यां पर्यायाभ्यामपीरितः ।
तस्मादनेनास्तत्पुत्रः पृथुः पुत्रः पृथोरपि ॥ ५ ॥
विश्वगन्धिस्ततश्चन्द्रो युवनाश्वस्तु चन्द्रजः ।
शावस्तस्तत्सुतस्तस्य बृहदश्वोऽस्य कीर्तितः[2] ॥ ६ ॥
धुन्धुमारेतिपर्यायः पुत्रः कुवलयाश्वकः ।
दृढाश्वस्तस्य हर्यश्वो निकुम्भोऽस्य सुतो मतः ॥ ७ ॥

[1] MS.—मानसस्तस्य.
[2] MS. शावस्तस्य सुतस्य बृहदश्वो स्य कीर्त्तितः.

बर्हिणाश्वो[1] निकुम्भस्य कृशाश्वोऽस्य च सैलजित् ।
युवनाश्वोऽस्य तनयो मान्धाता कुक्षिभेदनात् ॥ ८ ॥
जातः सम्राट्सदृस्यु[3]पर्यायस्तस्य चात्मजः ।
पुरुकुत्सस्तस्य पुत्रस्त्रसदृस्युरितोऽभवत् ॥ ९ ॥
अनरण्यस्तत्सुतोऽभूद्यस्य श्वरुणस्ततः ।
निबन्धन[4]स्ततस्तस्य सत्यव्रतस्त्रिशङ्कुकः[5] ॥ १० ॥
त्रैशङ्कवो हरिश्चन्द्रस्तस्माद्धरुणयज्ञजः ।
जातो रोहितभूपालो हरितस्तस्य चात्मजः ॥ ११ ॥
चम्पस्तस्यात्मजश्चम्पापुरी येन विनिर्मिता ।
सुदेवस्तत्सुतस्तस्य विजयस्तस्य चात्मजः ॥ १२ ॥
भरुक[6]स्तत्सुतः प्रोक्तो वृकस्तस्यापि बाहुकः ।
सगरस्तत्सुतश्चक्रवर्त्यासीदसमञ्जसः ॥ १३ ॥
सागरोऽस्यांशुमानस्य[7] दिलीपोऽस्य भगीरथः ।
भगीरथाच्छ्रुतस्तस्य नाभः[8]सिन्धुद्वीपस्ततः ॥ १४ ॥
तस्यायुतायुरस्यापि ऋतुपर्णोऽस्य कीर्तितः[9] ।
सर्वकामः सुदासोऽस्य स च सर्वसहस्तथा ॥ १५ ॥
कल्माषपादपर्यायः सौदासस्याश्मकः[10]स्मृतः ।
तत्सुतो मूलको नाम नारीभिः[11]परिरक्षितः ॥ १६ ॥
नारीकवच इत्युक्तो मूलकः क्षत्रवंशकृत् ।
आसीद्दशरथो मूलकस्य[12] पुत्रस्तदाश्मकेः ॥ १७ ॥
तस्मादैडविड[13] स्तस्माज्जातो विश्वसहस्ततः ।
खट्वाङ्गश्चक्रवर्ती यो मुहूर्तेनात्मतां गतः ॥ १८ ॥
खट्वाङ्गाद्दीर्घबाहुस्तु तस्माद्रघू रघोरजः ।
तस्माद्दशरथो राजा यतः प्राहुरभूद्धरिः ॥ १९ ॥
रामचन्द्रादिरूपेण चतुर्व्यूहावतारवान् ।
तस्यात्मजः कुशस्तस्यातिथिर्निषध आतिथिः ॥ २० ॥
नैषधस्तु[14] नलो राजा पुण्डरीकस्तदात्मजः ।
क्षेमधन्वा तस्य सूनुर्देवानीकस्ततः पुनः ॥ २१ ॥
पारियात्रो बलस्तस्माद्बलात्स्थल इतीरितः[15] ।
अस्मादर्कांशुसम्भूतो[16] वज्रनाभो महीपतिः ॥ २२ ॥
स्वगुणोऽस्माच्च विधृतिस्तस्माद्राजर्षिसत्तमः ।
हिरण्यनाभः शिष्यो यो जैमिनेरभवत्पुरा ॥ २३ ॥

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1 MS. बर्हणाश्वो.
2 MS. कुशाश्वो.
3 MS. सम्राटसदस्यु.
4 MS. चिबंधन.
5 MS. सत्यव्रत एव त्रिशंकुकः
6 MS. हरुक.
7 MS. सागरस्यांशुमानस्य
8 MS. स्यानाभः
9 MS. तस्यायुतायुः स्यादस्य ऋतुपर्णप्रकीर्त्तितः
10 MS. सौदाशस्त्रश्मकः
11 MS. खालकारामीन्नारीभिः
12 MS. खालकस्य.
13 MS. तस्मादैडविड॰.
14 MS. नेषधस्त.
15 MS. उतीरितः
16 MS अस्मादकीनृशंभूतो.

योगाचार्यो यतो याज्ञवल्क्योऽगात्कौशलो मुनिः ।
भेदकं हृदयग्रन्थेर्ज्ञानमध्यात्मसंज्ञितम्[1] ॥ २४ ॥
मह्या[2]योगोदयकरं यस्यासोत्पुष्पसंज्ञितः ।
पुत्रोऽस्माद्रुवसन्धिर्यस्याग्निवर्णः सुतो नृपः ॥ २५ ॥
शीघ्रस्तस्माद् मरुर्योगसिद्धो राजाभवत्पुरा ।
नष्टस्य सूर्यवंशस्य पुनर्भावयिता कलौ ॥ २६ ॥
कलापग्राममाश्रित्य तस्य प्रसुश्रुतः सुतः ।
सन्धिस्तस्यामर्षणोऽस्य सहस्वां[3]स्तत्सुतो मतः ॥ २७ ॥
विश्वसाह्व[4]स्तस्य सुतो यस्य पुत्रो बृहद्बलः ।
हतोऽभिमन्युना युद्धे भारते च बृहद्रणे ॥ २८ ॥
सुतस्तूरुक्रिय[5]स्तस्य वत्सवृद्धोऽस्य[6] सत्सुतः ।
प्रतिव्योम[7]स्ततो भानुर्दिवाको वाहिनीपतिः ॥ २९ ॥
सहदेवस्ततो वीरो बृहदश्वोऽथ भानुमान् ।
प्रतीकाश्वो भानुमतः सुप्रतीकश्च तत्सुतः ॥ ३० ॥
तस्माच्च मरुदेवोऽस्य सुनक्षत्रोऽस्य पुष्करः ।
अन्तरिक्षस्ततो राजा सुतपास्तदमित्रजित् ॥ ३१ ॥
बृहद्भानुस्तस्य तस्माद्बर्हिस्तस्य कृतञ्जयः ।
रणञ्जयस्तस्य सुतः सञ्जयस्तस्य चात्मजः ॥ ३२ ॥
तस्माच्छाक्योऽस्य शुद्धोदो लाङ्गल[8]स्तत्सुतो मतः ।
ततः प्रसेनकस्तस्मात्क्षुद्रको रणको[9]ऽस्य तु ॥ ३३ ॥
तस्य सूनुस्तु सुरथः सुमित्रस्तस्य चात्मजः ।
सुमित्रस्त्वनपत्योऽत्र नष्टप्रायेऽन्वये रवेः[10] ॥ ३४ ॥

Second Part.

गतेषु बहुवर्षेषु योगसिद्धो मरुन्नृपः ।
राजकन्यां विवाह्यास्यां जनयामास सत्सुतान् ॥ ३५ ॥
तेषामेकं कलापे स्थाप्यापराभ्यां स्वबन्धये ।
निष्क्रम्य दम्पतिभ्यां तत्रैकं संस्थाप्य रोधसि[11] ॥ ३६ ॥
हिमाद्रेर्ज्येष्ठपुत्रेण यः काश्मीरमवाप्य सः ।
तत्र वर्मपुरं नाम कृत्वा पुत्रस्य बन्धये ॥ ३७ ॥
जयस्तम्भस्य तं तत्राभिषिच्य[12] स्वयमास्थितः ।
तपस्यभिरतो योगाचार्यः संगम(?)एव हि[13] ॥ ३८ ॥
जयस्तम्भात्मजस्त्वासीज्जलस्तम्भोऽस्य चात्मजः ।
महास्तम्भोऽस्यादिवर्मा देववर्मा च तत्सुतः ॥ ३९ ॥

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[1] MS. संज्ञि.
[2] MS. मया.
[3] MS. स्वामहस्त्वां.
[4] MS. विश्वसाह्व.
[5] MS. सुतस्तूरुकृय.
[6] MS. वत्सवृद्धस्तु.
[7] MS. प्रतिव्योमं.
[8] MS. लाङ्गूल.
[9] MS. कुणको.
[10] MS. निष्टां प्रासे त्वथो रवे.
[11] MS. सेधसि.
[12] MS. पेच.
[13] MS योगाचाय स्संग प्र एव हि.

मन्दारस्तत्सुतस्तस्य कान्तारोऽस्य प्रगल्भकः ।
प्रगल्भस्यात्मजस्त्वाज्यवर्मा वर्मपुरे यदा ॥ ४० ॥
तदा गतः स योगाचार्यः कृत्वा दुष्करं तपः ।
इरावतीबुधसरित्सङ्गमे शिवप्रीतये ॥ ४१ ॥
तदा लिङ्गान्यसंख्यानि प्रादुरासन्स्थले स्थले ।
राजापि स्वसुतं राजगुणैः सर्वैरलङ्कृतम् ॥ ४२ ॥
दृष्ट्वा धुरन्धरं तस्मिन्योगाचार्यमते स्थितः ।
अभिषिच्य सुतं मेरुवर्माणं राज्यसिद्धये ॥ ४३ ॥
योगमास्थाय तत्रैव चेचेऽगाच्छिवसन्निधौ ।
मेरुवर्मा जयस्तम्भादृशमोऽभूत्स्थितः पुरि[1] ॥ ४४ ॥
योगाचार्यस्य स्वतां(?)सुमेरोरिव चादधात्[2] ।
देवदेवस्य स्थितये मूर्तिं नरहरेरपि ॥ ४५ ॥
प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्वगुरुणा काश्मीरेण महात्मना ।
सूर्यांशं चात्मना भद्रकालीं तत्र गणाधिपम् ॥ ४६ ॥
संस्थाप्य वृषमस्याधस्त्वलिखद्राजशासनम् ।
सुवर्णवर्मा तत्सूनुर्लक्ष्मीवर्मा तदात्मजः ॥ ४७ ॥
तस्य राज्ये निपतिता मारी लोका रुजा हताः ।
तदैव कीरैरागत्य राजा रणमुखे हतः ॥ ४८ ॥
राज्ञो गर्भवती नीता मन्त्रिभिः सपुरोहितैः ।
देवलायां बहिर्भूमौ गच्छन्ती सुषुवे[3] सुतम् ॥ ४९ ॥
कन्दरायां तु तं त्यक्त्वा गन्तुमेव समुद्यता ।
पुरोधसोक्ता दृष्ट्वा तां कथं पुत्रि त्वमीदृशी ॥ ५० ॥
प्रसूतासि कदास्माकं स्वामी कुत्र निवेशितः ।
तिष्ठत्यन्तर्गतोऽसावेवं श्रुत्वैव पुरोहितः ॥ ५१ ॥
गृहीत्वा दर्शयामास मन्त्रिणं तं न संसदि ।
ततस्तां परभोगैकदेशे नीत्वा स्थिता बहून् ॥ ५२ ॥
वत्सरांस्तद्गुरोर्गेहे सबाला कण्डनाय हि ।
धान्यानां सा गता धूल्यां सङ्गतौ चरणौ गुरुः ॥ ५३ ॥
बालस्य दृष्ट्वा चिह्नैस्तां पप्रच्छ नृपतेर्गुरुः ।
के भवन्तः कुतः प्राप्ताः किमर्थमिति पृच्छते ॥ ५४ ॥
नोवाच राज्ञो पुरुषान्पृष्ट्वा ज्ञात्वा च तत्कुलम् ।
राजलक्षणसंयुक्तं बालं बुद्ध्वा[4] महात्मनः ॥ ५५ ॥
नीत्वा सुखेतनगरं स्वराज्ञे तं निवेद्य तु ।
राज्ञीं तपस्विनीं ज्ञात्वा यथायोगं तु सत्क्रियाम् ॥ ५६ ॥
स्थानेन मानदानाभ्यां चकारादृत्य प्रत्यहम् ।
राजा भूषणवर्मासौ यदा यौवनमास्थितः ॥ ५७ ॥

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[1] MS. पच्चि perhaps पथि.
[2] Perhaps आदरात्.
[3] MS. सुखवे.
[4] MS. बुद्धा.

तदा प्रभोगराजासौ तस्मै दुहितरं निजाम् ।
दत्त्वा विधिवदग्नौ पाङ्गीतिग्रामं[1] महद्धनम् ॥ ५८ ॥
सेनां च महतीं सार्धं नृपेण नृपतिर्ददौ ।
नाम्ना भूषणवर्मासावागत्यैवाशु कीरकान् ॥ ५९ ॥
हत्वा समस्तांस्त्वे राज्ये निषसाद महीपतिः ।
माताप्याकारिता राज्ञा ततस्तेनापि प्रेषिता ॥ ६० ॥
सस्नुषा भूमिपालेन शुल्कदानादिसत्कृता ।
पत्न्या प्रसादितस्यासीत्पुत्रो भूषणवर्मणः ॥ ६१ ॥
सस्ततः सारवर्मा ततः सेनाभिधो मतः ।
सैन्यवर्मसुतो राजा सुजन[2]स्तस्य चात्मजः ॥ ६२ ॥
राजा सहिलवर्मासावुग्रे तपसि संस्थितः ।
पत्न्यैव धर्मचारिण्योत्सङ्गे हिमगिरेः कृतौ ॥ ६३ ॥
दक्षिणे योगसिद्धोऽभूत्सिद्धास्तत्र समागताः ।
चतुरशीतिसंख्यास्ते वरदानार्थमस्य हि ॥ ६४ ॥
नैच्छन्नरपतिस्तत्र निर्विण्णस्तैरुदीरितम् ।
राज्ञो[3] मनोषितं प्रागेवाभवेयुः[4] सुता मम ॥ ६५ ॥
ब्रह्मणः सेवको राज्ञो स्यैव कोऽन्योऽस्य चाज्ञया ।
प्रजार्थमभविष्यंस्तद्दत्तास्माभिः सुता दश[5] ॥ ६६ ॥
युष्माभिरत्र स्थातव्यं ममाचागमनावधि ।
राज्ञोदितमिदं श्रुत्वैवमस्त्विति ते पुनः ॥ ६७ ॥
प्रत्यशृण्वन्[6] नृपेणैव योगी चर्पटिरागतः ।
युगाकारप्रभृतिभिर्दशभिः सत्सुतैर्नृपः ॥ ६८ ॥
विजित्य क्षत्रियान्युद्धे पुरीं चम्पां चकार ह ।
पुरैव चम्पकेनालङ्कृतां देव्याभिरक्षिताम् ॥ ६९ ॥
चम्पावत्यैव महिषादीन्हत्वैरावतीतटे ।
लिङ्गभेदा[7] स्विहाप्यासन् शालिकासङ्गमे तथा ॥ ७० ॥
कुनालसङ्गमे चात्र सरस्वत्या च शालिका-
सङ्गमे तान्समानीय चर्पटेः संमतौ[8] स्थितः ॥ ७१ ॥
गुप्तचन्द्रेश्वरौ[9] कूर्मेश्वरश्चेत्यादि नामभिः ।
स्थापयामास नृपतिः सहिलाख्यो जितेन्द्रियः ॥ ७२ ॥
चर्पटस्थानमप्यन्ते[10] कारयित्वा सुतान्नव ।
प्रेषयामास विन्ध्यादानीयतां महती शिला[11] ॥ ७३ ॥
गत्वा तैर्महती शुभ्रा शिलानीतात्मनैव[12] हि ।
गुरुणोक्तां शिला नेयं लक्ष्मीनारायणोचिता ॥ ७४ ॥

[1] MS. पङ्गीति ग्रामं.
[2] MS. सजन.
[3] MS. राज्ञा.
[4] MS. भविष्यन्.
[5] This verse is evidently corrupt.
[6] MS. प्रतिशृत्य.
[7] MS. लिङ्गीभेदा—
[8] MS. ससुतौ.
[9] MS. गुप्तश्चन्देश्वरौ.
[10] MSस्थानमप्यन्तः
[11] MS. महतीशिलां.
[12] MS. नीत्मनैव.

अस्या उदर एकोऽस्ति भेको[1] राज्ञा निरीक्षणे ।
कृते जाते तथान्यास्तु प्रतिमाः शङ्करस्य च ॥ ७५ ॥
देव्या गणपतेश्चाप्येकत्र देवालये तु ताः ।
स्थापिताः स्वसुता[2] राज्ञा पुनरेव तु प्रेषिताः ॥ ७६ ॥
भावित्वादेवमेवार्थस्यानीयान्यां[3] शिलां पथि ।
स्थितास्तदा रणे भूयोभितार्हदस्युभिः सुताः ॥ ७७ ॥
श्रुत्वा नृपेण तान्हन्तुं युगाकारो धनुर्धरः ।
प्रेषितोऽसौ[4] मुकुटकोटादारभ्याहनद्रिपून् ॥ ७८ ॥
यावद्भिमगिरेः पक्षातां न देशोस्ततः परम्[5] ।
सद्रत्युक्ता[6] विरम्यागाच्छिलामादाय सत्वरः ॥ ७९ ॥
कारयित्वा कृतिं लक्ष्मीपतेः संस्थाप्य चादरात् ।
संस्थाप्य च युगाकारं चम्यापुर्यां नृपोऽप्यगात् ॥ ८० ॥
सह चर्पटिना राजा तथैव[7] तपसि स्थितः ।
चतुर्भिरधिकाश्चासन्न शीतिः सिद्धमूर्तयः ॥ ८१ ॥
सरस्त्यद्रवाऽ घापि[8] राजापि शममाप्तवान् ।
युगाकारात्मजो दोग्धो विदग्धस्तस्य चात्मजः ॥ ८२ ॥
विचित्रवर्मा तस्यासीद्वैर्यवर्मा च तत्सुतः ।
असटस्तस्य पुत्रोऽस्य पुत्रौ जसटढालिकौ[9] ॥ ८३ ॥
जसटस्यानपत्यत्वाद्ढालवर्मा नृपोऽभवत् ।
अजितस्तस्य सूनुः स्यादस्य दैत्यारिरात्मजः ॥ ८४ ॥
पृथ्वोवर्मा तु दैत्यारेरुदयः सूनुरस्य तु ।
तस्यासी[10]ल्ललितः पुत्रो यस्यासीद्विजयो नृपः ॥ ८५ ॥
धावित्वा दक्षिणवठो[11] काश्मीरकीरमुद्गलाः ।
हृता गृहीतो देशो येनानुनीताः सक्रज्जनाः[12] ॥ ८६ ॥
दत्तास्तु ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ग्रामाः कृत्वा राजशासनम् ।
राणवाटादयो[13] बोजभरणाद्याः[14] खराप्तये ॥ ८७ ॥
ब्रह्मणो दानवीरोऽभूत्काश्मीरांश्चानयद्वशे[15] ।
राजवर्मा विजयवर्मणः पुत्रस्ततस्त्वभूत् ॥ ८८ ॥
सारवर्मा तस्य सूनुः कीर्तिवर्माप्यभून्नृपः ।
अजितो मदनश्चेति द्वौ सुतौ कीर्तिवर्मणः ॥ ८९ ॥
अजितश्चानपत्योऽभून्मदनो[16] नृपसत्तमः ।
मुद्रा मदनवर्माभिधाना यस्यास्ति दक्षिणे ॥ ९० ॥
नारोकुञ्जरशाङ्गांगुर्ज्जरात्रे द्यापि या लिपि ।
नागरो सूनुरय्यांशाख्यो त्रीभूतस्तु तत्सुतः[17] ॥ ९१ ॥

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[1] MS. भिको.
[2] MS. स्वसुतो.
[3] MS. नीयान्यां.
[4] MS. मौ.
[5] This passage I am unable to restore.
[6] Perhaps श्रुत्वा युक्ता is to be read.
[7] MS. राज्ञा तथैव.
[8] These words are unintelligible.
[9] MS. ढालिकौ.
[10] सौ omitted in MS.
[11] Perhaps दक्षिणं वाटं is to be read.
[12] स्वका जनाः would be a better reading.
[13] Perhaps शाकवाटादयो is to be read.
[14] MS. वौजभरटाद्याः
[15] MS. कश्मीर यौऽनयद्वशे
[16] MS. अजितेश्चनपत्यौ भदत्मजौ.
[17] This verse is obscure. Perhaps जीमूवस्त तत्सतः

वैरिवर्मा सुतस्तस्य माणिक्यस्तस्य चात्मजः ।
भोटवर्मा तस्य सूनुः सङ्ग्रामाख्यस्तदात्मजः ॥ ९२ ॥
आनन्दवर्मा राजासीच्त्रिगर्ताधिपतेः सुताम् ।
विवाह्य पाकशालायां भोजनाय समाश्रिते ॥ ९३ ॥
तस्मिंस्तु कौतुकार्थं तद्राज्ञोपकरणैः समम् ।
चषकादीन्यच हस्ताग्राह्याण्यासादितानि हि ॥ ९४ ॥
तत्र तत्र प्रसार्यैव करमानन्दवर्मणा ।
सूपवोष्टेन (?) भुक्ता पानीयपात्रे महत्यपि ॥ ९५ ॥
दूरस्थेऽपि[1] प्रसार्यैव बाहुं पीते जले नसोः ।
जालाभ्यां (?) निःसृतौ सर्पौ[2] लेलिहानौ विलोकितौ ॥ ९६ ॥
राज्ञा जनैः समं पादावभिवन्द्य[3] महीपतेः ।
गणेशवर्मा तत्सूनुस्तस्य पुत्रः प्रतापवान् ॥ ९७ ॥
प्रतापसिंहवर्मासीद्युधिष्ठिरसमः कलौ ।
लक्ष्मीनारायणादीनां प्रासादारब्धकर्मणः ॥ ९८ ॥
तस्यार्थचिन्ता तीव्रासीत्कथं मे निर्वहेदिति ।
मन्त्रयत्यात्मसचिवाद्यैः[4] प्रजापीडनं विना ॥ ९९ ॥
शयानस्यास्य शयने रात्रौ स्वप्ने श्रियः पतिः ।
साक्षादिव समागम्य सोऽवबोध्याह[5] पार्थिवम् ॥ १०० ॥
राजंश्चिन्ता न ते जातु सर्वं सम्पादितं मया ।
श्रुत्वोत्थायाह राजासौ दण्डवत्पतितो भुवि ॥ १०१ ॥
कथं न सम्भवेद्विश्वभरस्यार्तार्तिकृन्तनम् ।
द्वितीयेऽहनि होलाख्यग्रामादागत्य कर्षकाः ॥ १०२ ॥
ताम्रखण्डानि सदसि न्यस्योचुः खनिसम्भवम् ।
देवालया इमे सर्वे[6] तेन सम्पादितास्त्वदा ॥ १०३ ॥
राज्यवृद्धिरभूद्युद्धे जितो नागरकोटिकः ।
चन्द्रेति नाम्ना राजासौ प्रपलायनतत्परः[7] ॥ १०४ ॥
चटोदेशाद्वन्यमानबलो यावत्तु गोपुरम् ।
हृतं धनं गजाश्वादि सर्वं भूमिश्च भूयसी ॥ १०५ ॥
सामन्तनृपतीनां तेनाहतस्तस्य सोदरः ।
जयसिंह इति ख्यातोऽभूद्गुणैर्नृपसंमतः[8] ॥ १०६ ॥
प्रतापसिंहपुत्रोऽ भूद्दोरभानुर्महीपतिः ।
बलिभद्रसुतस्तस्य बलिकर्णो गुणैरभूत् ॥ १०७ ॥
बलिभद्र[9] सुतस्त्वासोज्जनार्दन इति श्रुतः ।
गुणैरनवमस्त्वासीदर्जुनात्मव्यसाचिनः ॥ १०८ ॥

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[1] MS. दरस्थी. [2] MS. निःसृती सर्पौ. [3] MS. भिवेद्य चमापते.
[4] MS. सम्म आत्मप्पात्मसचिवाद्यैः; [5] MS. से वीथ्यीवाह Vern. राजे की जगाउते भये.
[6] MS. सद्वि. [7] MS. राजा नाम्ना पलायनतत्परः [8] MS. समंत.
[9] In the MS. the second half of verse 107 and the first half of verse 108 have been transposed.

धर्मे धनुषि शूरत्वे नये भक्तौ नृपस्य च ।
द्वादशाब्दं युवमासीज्जयसिंहेन भूभृता ॥ १०९ ॥
यवनाधीशसचिवाग्रणिना[1] तस्य तेन तु ।
पलायिना जितेनापि बहुधा कपटात्मना ॥ ११० ॥
वञ्चयित्वातः[2] शूरेणापि भ्रात्रा समन्वितः ।
विश्वम्भरेण जयिना देवादप्यनुतेजसा ॥ १११ ॥
पित्रादेशात्सबलसिंहानुजेनापि सङ्गतः ।
तदैव[3] बलिभद्रस्य दग्धो देशो हृतं धनम् ॥ ११२ ॥
यवनाधीशयोगेन गृहीत[4] राज्यमेव तत् ।
जनार्दनस्य पुत्रो भूत्पृथ्वीसिंहोऽपि बालकः ॥ ११३ ॥
देशान्निःभृत्य स गतो मण्डीकोलाचलादिषु ।
गतेषु बहुवर्षेषु प्राप्ते भेदे महत्यपि ॥ ११४ ॥
दैवेऽनुकूलतां प्राप्ते सामन्तैः संविधाय तु ।
सन्धिं समागतः पृथ्वीसिंहः कोलाचलात्स्वयम् ॥ ११५ ॥
लङ्घयित्वा भूरिहिमं गिरिदेवानुकूलत्वात्[5] ।
स्वदेशस्थान्विधायापि कोटात्तस्यैव सैनिकान् ॥ ११६ ॥
पितृघ्नस्याहनद्युद्धे तत्र तत्राखिलान्क्रती ।
निःशेषयित्वा चम्पापुर्यां स्थितान्रिपुसैनिकान् ॥ ११७ ॥
गृहीत्वा नासिकाश्चित्वा त्यक्त्वाऽन्याहनत्प्रभुः[6] ।
देशागतांश्च हत्वान्याम्भूमिः शोणितपङ्किला ॥ ११८ ॥
कृत्वा निजाज्ञावशगं सङ्गरामं नाम भूमिपम् ।
दत्त्वा भलेहीमप्यस्मै पितृघ्नं हन्तुमुद्यतः ॥ ११९ ॥
सन्धिं विधाय यवनाधीशमान्यभटेन सः[7] ।
प्रत्यक्षेण समाश्रित्य[8] कलानोरपुरे यदा ॥ १२० ॥

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the illustrious Guru.

While bowing before Nārāyaṇa who by the qualities of Illusion has created the Universe [which had been] absorbed at the end of the Kalpa (may He protect it!) to obtain [our] wishes, this string of the Solar Race has been wound round His neck.

The Self-existent (Brahmā) was born from the navel-lotus of Nārāyaṇa, Marīci from his (Brahmā's) mind, and [from Marīci] Kaśyapa the patriarch. From him (Kaśyapa) by Aditi was born Vivasvant; the son of Vivasvant was Manu, the god of the funeral oblation (*śrāddha-deva*). From the nose of Manu, while sneezing, sprang his son Ikṣvāku, his (Ikṣvāku's) son was Vikukṣi, and Vikukṣi had a son called Purañjaya, also known by the names of Indravāha and Kakutstha.

[1] The correct form would be—ग्रण्या
[2] MS. वंचहित्वा
[3] MS. व omitted.
[4] MS. तं omitted.
[5] MS. —कूलनात्
[6] Obscure.
[7] मान्यभटेन सः
[8] MS. समाशृत्य

From him (Purañjaya) [sprang] Anenas; his (Anenas') son was Pṛthu; Pṛthu's son was Viśvagandhi; from him (Viśvagandhi) [sprang] Candra; and Yuvanāśva was the son of Candra. His son was Śābasta and his (Śābasta's) son was known as Bṛhadaśva. His (Bṛhadaśva's) son was Kuvalayāśvaka, also named Dhundhumāra; Dṛḍhāśva was his (Kuvalayāśvaka's) son and his (Dṛḍhāśva's) son was known as Haryaśva-Nikumbha. Barhiṇāśva was the son of Nikumbha, and Kṛśāśva-Senajit was his (Barhiṇāśva's) son. Yuvanāśva was his (Kṛśāśva's) son, and by the piercing of the womb [of his mother] was born [his son] Māndhātar the Emperor, also called Trasaddasyu. His (Māndhātar's) son was Purukutsa; his (Purukutsa's) son Trasaddasyu (II); from him (Trasaddasyu) was born (*verse 10*) Anaraṇya; his (Anaraṇya's) son was Haryaśva (II), and from him (Haryaśva) [sprang] Aruṇa. From him (Aruṇa) was born Nibandhana; [from Nibandhana] Satyavrata-Triśaṅkuka. Triśaṅku's son was Hariścandra; from him (Hariścandra) was born the king Rohita through a sacrifice to Varuṇa; and his (Rohita's) son was Harita.[1] His (Harita's) son was Campa who founded the town of Campā. Sudeva was his (Campa's) son, his (Sudeva's) son was Vijaya, and his (Vijaya's) son Bharuka. His (Bharuka's) son was called Vṛka, and his (Vṛka's) Bāhuka. Sagara, the universal monarch (*cakravartin*), was his (Bāhuka's) son, Asamañjasa was the son of Sagara; his (Asamañjasa's) son was Aṁśumant, his (Aṁśumant's) Dilīpa, his (Dilīpa's) Bhagīratha. From Bhagīratha [sprang] Śruta, from him (Śruta) Nābha; and Sindhudvīpa from him (Nābha). His (Sindhudvīpa's) son was Ayutāyus, his (Ayutāyus') Ṛtuparṇa, his (Ṛtuparṇa's) Sarvakāma; his (Sarvakāma's) Sudāsa, and his (Sudāsa's) Sarvasaha, also named Kalmāṣapāda. The son of Sudāsa's son was known as Aśmaka. His (Aśmaka's) son, Mūlaka, by name, was guarded by women and therefore called Nārīkavaca ("Women-armoured"), the progenitor of the warrior caste. Daśaratha was the son of Mūlaka, Aśmaka's son. From him (Daśaratha) [sprang] Aiḍaviḍa, from him (Aiḍaviḍa) was born Viśvasaha, and from him (Viśvasaha) Khaṭvāṅga the universal monarch (*cakravartin*) who in a moment attained spiritual wisdom. From Khaṭvāṅga [sprang] Dīrghabāhu, from him (Dīrghabāhu) Raghu, [and] from Raghu Aja. From him (Aja) [sprang] king Daśaratha (II) from whom came forth Hari (Viṣṇu) (*verse 20*) in his four-fold incarnation as Rāmacandra and his brothers. His (Rāma's) son was Kuśa, his (Kuśa's) Atithi, [and] the son of Atithi was Niṣadha. The son of Niṣadha was king Nala, his (Nala's) son was Puṇḍarīka. Kṣemadhanvan was his (Puṇḍarīka's) son and from him (Kṣemadhanvan) again was born Devānīka. [Devānīka's son was] Pāriyātra, from him (Pāriyātra) [sprang] Bala [and] from Bala, Sthala. From him (Sthala) sprang Vajranābha, the ruler of the earth, who was born from a beam of the Sun. Svaguṇa was born from him (Vajranābha), from him (Svaguṇa) Vidhṛti and from him (Vidhṛti) Hiraṇyanābha, the best of royal sages, who first became the disciple of Jaimini and from whom the teacher of the Yoga, Yājñavalkya, the sage of Kosala, attained doubt-dispelling spiritual wisdom, which caused the great Yoga

[1] Here three names which are found in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (9, 6, 1-2) have been omitted, namely, Ambarīśa Yauvanāśva and Hārīta.

to rise. His (Hiraṇyanābha's) son was named Puṣya, from him (Puṣya) [was born] Dhruvasandhi, whose son was Agnivarṇa the king. From him (Agnivarṇa) was formerly born the quick Maru, the king accomplished in Yoga, who in the Age of Sin (Kali-yuga) revived the Solar Race which had become extinct. After he (Marut) had settled at the village of Kalāpa, a son Prasuśruta was born to him. Sandhi was his (Prasuśruta's) son, Amarṣaṇa, his (Sandhi's), and Sahasvant his (Amarṣaṇa's). His (Sahasvant's) was Viśvasāhva whose son was Bṛhadbala[1] who was killed by Abhimanyu in the contest and the great battle of the Bharatas. His son was Urukriya,[2] and Vatsavṛddha was his (Urukriya's) son. [From him was born] Prativyoma, from him (Prativyoma) Bhānu-Divāka the army-head. (*Verse 30.*) From him (Bhānu) Sahadeva the hero, then Bṛhadaśva-Bhānumant. Pratīkāśva [was the son] of Bhānumant, and Supratīka was his (Pratīkāśva's) son. From him (Supratīka) was born Marudeva, his (Marudeva's) [son was] Sunakṣatra and his (Sunakṣatra's) Puṣkara. From him (Puṣkara) [was born] the king Antarikṣa, great in asceticism, the destroyer of his enemies. Bṛhadbhānu[3] was his (Antarikṣa's) son, from him (Bṛhadbhānu) [sprang] Barhi and his (Barhi's) son was Kṛtañjaya. Raṇañjaya was his (Kṛtañjaya's) son, and Sañjaya was his (Raṇañjaya's) son. From him (Sañjaya) [sprang] Śākya, Śuddhoda was his (Śākya's) [son] and Lāṅgala was his (Śuddhoda's) son. From him (Lāṅgala) [sprang] Prasenaka,[4] from him (Prasenaka) Kṣudraka, and his (Kṣudraka's) son was Raṇaka. His (Raṇaka's) son was Suratha, and Sumitra was his (Suratha's) son. Sumitra was childless, so that the race of the Sun was nearly extinct.

After many years had elapsed, king Maru, accomplished in Yoga, married a king's daughter and begot by her excellent sons.[5] Having settled one of them at Kalāpa, he left for the sake of his own growth with the two others [who were] householders, and settled one there on the slope of the Himālaya. Then having reached Kaśmīr with the eldest son, he founded there Varmapura for the sake of his son Jaya-stambha and anointed him there [as king]. He himself stayed there practising asceticism—he the teacher of the Yoga. The son of Jaya-stambha was Jala-stambha, and his (Jala-stambha's) son Mahā-stambha. His (Mahā-stambha's) son was Ādi-varman, and Deva-varman was his (Ādi-varman's) son. (*Verse 40*) Mandāra was his (Deva-varman's) son, Kāntāra his (Mandāra's) and Pragalbhaka his (Kantāra's). The son of Pragalbha was Ājya-varman. When he (Ājya-varman), a master of the Yoga, practised difficult asceticism at Varmapura at the confluence of the Irāvatī and Budha stream, to please Śiva, then numberless *liṅgas* appeared all over the place. The king, seeing his son a leader adorned with all royal virtues and being himself intent on the practice of Yoga, anointed his son Meru-varman for the sake of the growth of the State and, devoting himself to Yoga, he went from that same spot to the presence of Śiva. Meru-varman was the tenth from Jaya-stambha settled in

[1] The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (9, 12, 7) has the names Prasenajit and Takṣaka after Viśvasāhva.
[2] In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (9, 12, 9) Bṛhadraṇa is the name of Bṛhadbala's successor.
[3] Bṛhadrāja according to *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9, 12, 12.
[4] Prasenajit according to *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9, 12, 14.
[5] The vernacular Vaṁśāvalī speaks of seven sons, which is evidently due to a confusion between *sat-sutān* and *aṭ-sutān*.

the town (?) . . . . . for an abode of the god of the gods.[1] He caused also an image of the Man-lion to be erected by his eminent *guru* who was an inhabitant of Kaśmīr and he set himself up a Sūryāṁśa,[2] [images of] the Blessed Kālī (Bhadrakālī), of Gaṇādhipa (Gaṇeśa) and of the bull (Nandi), and beneath the latter he wrote his royal commandments. Suvarṇa-varman was his (Meru-varman's) son and Lakṣmī-varman was his (Suvarṇa-varman's) son. In his reign there occurred a pestilence, and the people were afflicted with sickness. At the same time came the Kīras and slew the king in the front of the battle. The queen who was pregnant was rescued by the ministers together with the family-priest; and at Devalā, having stepped out [of her litter], she bore a son. (*Verse 59*) Leaving him in a cave, she proceeded to go, but the family-priest, seeing her, asked, "How, my daughter, art thou in this state? When hast thou born a child? Where hath our lord been laid?" And when she gave answer: "He is inside [the cave]," the family-priest took him and showed him to the minister, but not in public. Then they brought her to a country ruled by Parabhoga and there they tarried many years in the house of his *guru* with the child. Once she had gone to thrash paddy seeds. The *guru* of the king, seeing in the dust the footprints of the child marked with signs [of royalty], asked her, "Who art thou? Whence hast thou come? And why?" When he asked thus, the queen did not speak, but having questioned her attendants, he learnt to what house the boy belonged; and knowing that, as he bore the marks of a king, he was the son of a noble father, he took him to the town of Sukheta and presented him to his king who, when he learnt her misfortune, duly honoured her with a dwelling-place, with honours and gifts and daily reverence. When king Mūṣaṇa-varman had become of age, king Prabhoga gave him his own daughter in marriage, according to the prescribed rules, with the village of Pāṅgī and great wealth, and gave him also a large army. Then that Mūṣaṇa-varman came hastily, (*verse 60*) slew all Kīrakas and settled as ruler in his own kingdom. The king also called his mother, and the ruler [of Sukheta] sent her with her daughter-in-law, honoured with a dowry and presents. Mūṣaṇa-varman, pleased with his queen, had by her a son Haṁsa. From him (Haṁsa) [was born] Sāra-varman, and from him (Sāra-varman) [a son] named Sena. The son of Sainya-varman was king Sujana and his (Sujana's) son was king Sahila-varman. He, engaged in severe austerity with his lawful wife on the southern slope of the Himālaya, attained his object and became accomplished in Yoga. Then there appeared wizards, eighty-four in number, to give him a boon. The king in his weariness did not express his wish, but they uttered the Rājā's desire at once "May I have sons!"

. . . . . .

. . . . . .[3]

"Ye must stay here, till my return," quoth the king, and they, on hearing it, consented saying, "So be it." The Jōgī Carpaṭi went with the king. Together

[1] The first half of verse 45 is unintelligible.

[2] The vernacular Bansaulī has एक अपणे आत्मा का अंसभूत सूर्य लिंग कोइ अस्थाप करता भया. Evidently the text refers to the Sūrajmukh *liṅga* at Brahmor. Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 71.

[3] Verse 66 is unintelligible, but the corresponding passage in the vernacular Pansaulī says that the queen and ministers uttered the Rājā's wish to the Siddhas, who thereupon granted him ten sons.

with Yugākāra and his nine other excellent sons the king defeated the Kṣatriyas in battle and founded on the bank of the Irāvatī the town of Campā, which was before adorned with *campaka* trees and guarded by the goddess (*verse* 70) Campāvatī, having slain the Buffalo and others.[1] On this same spot there were also various *liṅgas*, at the confluence of the Śālikā [with the Irāvatī], and at the confluence of the Kunāla and at the confluence of the Śālikā with the Sarasvatī. Having brought these [to the town] with the consent of Carpaṭi, the king, named Sāhila, the master of his senses, established Gupta and Candreśvara, Kūrmeśvara and other temples.

Having finally established a sanctuary of Carpaṭa also, he sent nine of his sons [with the words:] "Bring me a large stone from the Vindhya." They went and brought with them a large and white stone, but the *guru* said: "This stone is not suitable for [an image of] Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Inside it is a frog." When the king had examined it and it was so, he set up other images of Śaṅkara, Devī and Gaṇapati, all in the same temple and sent his sons again. As it was destined to happen, on the way his sons, when they were bringing the stone, were slain in battle by numerous robbers. When the king heard this, he sent Yugākāra the archer to slay them, and he (Yugākāra) slew the enemies from Mukuṭa-koṭa as far as . . . . . he came hastily with the stone.[2] (*Verse 80.*) Then, after he had caused an image of Lakṣmī's Lord to be made and set it up reverently, he installed Yugākāra [as his successor] in the town of Campā and went with Carpaṭi to devote himself to asceticism. The eighty-four wizards were also [with him] . . . . . the king also went to rest (*i.e.* died).[3]

Yugākāra's son was Dogdha, his (Dogdha's) son was Vidagdha. Vicitra-varman was his (Vidagdha's) son and Dhairya-varman was his (Vicitra-varman's) son. Asaṭa was his (Dhairya-varman's) son, his (Asaṭa's) two sons were Jasaṭa and Ḍhālika. As Jasaṭa was childless, Ḍhāla-varman became king. Ajita was his (Ḍhāla-varman's) son; his (Ajita's) Daityāri. Pṛthvī-varman [was the son] of Daityāri. Udaya was his (Pṛthvī-varman's) son. His (Udaya's) son was Lalita, whose [son was] king Vijaya. He, hastening from (?) the south, slew the Kāśmīras, Kīras and Mudgalas (*i.e.* Mughals), took the land and at once gratified [his] people. In order to attain heaven, he gave his royal command and granted to Brāhmaṇs the villages of Rāṇavāṭa, and so on, with seedcorn and rent (?).[4] He wa pious and generous and he subdued the Kāśmīras.

Rāja-varman was the son of Vijaya-varman; from him (Rāja-varman) was born Sāra-varman; his (Sāra-varman's) son was king Kīrti-varman. Ajita and

[1] It is not clear whether this refers to the king or to the goddess. In the first case it could mean that, on the occasion of the foundation of Campā, a buffalo and other animals were sacrificed by the king. In the second case it would refer to the slaying of the Buffalo-demon (Mahiṣāsura) by the goddess. Indeed the image of Campāvatī represents the Devī in the act of piercing Mahiṣa.

[2] Most of verse 79 is obscure.

[3] The first part of verse 82 is evidently corrupt.

[4] The expression बीजभरणादि occurs in the Kuḷū grant l. 10. *A. R. A. S.* for 1903-04, p. 268, but the meaning is uncertain.

Madana were the two sons of Kīrti-varman. Ajita was without issue [and] Madana the excellent prince (*verse* 90) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

and his son was Jīmūta (?).[1] Vairi-varman was his (Jīmūta's) son and Māṇikya was his (Vairi-varman's) son. Bhoṭa-varman was his (Māṇikya's) son, his (Bhoṭa-varman's) son was named Saṅgrāma. Ānanda-varman became king. When he married the daughter of the ruler of Trigarta and had entered the kitchen to take his food, that king, out of curiosity, together with his attendants had placed the cups and other vessels in such a manner that he could not reach them with his hand. There and then, stretching forth his hand, Ānanda-varman ate the soup (?) and, stretching forth his arm, drank water from a large drinking-vessel also placed far away. When the Rājā (of Trigarta) prostrated himself with his people before the king (Ānanda-varman), they beheld two licking serpents issuing from his nostrils (?)

Gaṇeśa-varman was his (Ānanda's) son. His (Gaṇeśa-varman's) son, full of dignity, was Pratāpa-siṁha-varman who equalled Yudhiṣṭhira in this Age of Sin. When he had begun work on the temples of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and other deities, he felt great anxiety how to procure the money and consulted with his ministers [saying]: "How will my purpose succeed without vexing my subjects?" (*Verse 100*). When at night he was lying on his couch, the Lord of Śrī (Nārāyaṇa) appeared to him in a dream and, awakening him, spoke to the prince: "King, have no anxiety, it hath all been provided by me." On hearing this, the king rose and spoke, falling on the ground like a staff: "How could not the All-Sustainer (Nārāyaṇa) cut short the distress of the distressed?" The following day there came some peasants from the village of Hol and, laying before the assembly some pieces of copper, they reported the discovery of a mine. Then he restored all the temples.

The State was increased by war: the king of Nagar-kōṭ (Kāṅgṛā), Candra by name, was defeated and took to flight, as his forces were defeated from the land of Caṭī as far as the gate [of Kāṇgṛā town?], and elephants, horses and all other booty was taken and much land of vassals and princes. He (Pratāpa-siṁha-varman) slew his (Candra's) brother, named Jayatsiṁha, who was honoured by the king for his virtues.

The son of Pratāpa-siṁha was king Vīrabhānu. Balibhadra was his (Vīrabhānu's) son. He was a Balikarṇa in virtues.[2] The son of Balibhadra was known as Janārdana. In virtues he was not inferior to Arjuna, the left-handed archer, in righteousness, archery, heroism, statesmanship and piety. For twelve

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[1] Verse 91 is obscure. The vernacular Bansaulī contains the following names: Madan Varmā, Mudrā Varmā, Nāgari (or Nārī) Varmā, Aṣetrī Varmā and Verī Varmā.

[2] The correct form of the name of this Rājā, as found in his numerous copper-plate grants, is Balabhadra. Bali and Karṇa are two mythic kings, renowned for their generosity. Prājyabhaṭṭa writes in the 4th Rājataraṅgiṇī (verse 675):

नाकबरसमः कश्चिद्दाताभून्न भविष्यति । दानं समर्पितं येन पण्डितेष्वपि वैरिषु ॥
कर्णः सुवर्णदानेन भूमिदानेन वा बलिः । समस्तवस्तुदानेन यशः प्राप्नोति भूपतिः ॥

"Never has there been nor will there be a man generous like Akbar, who bestowed gifts on the learned, even if they were his enemies. Karṇa wins fame by giving gold, Bali by giving land, but the king (Akbar) by giving everything."

In the Bombay edition (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. LIV) p. 380, the 2nd and 3rd *pādas* of the second verse have been left out.

years there was war between the king and king Jagatsiṁha[1] the chief-councillor of the lord of the Yavanas. Though he (Jagatsiṁha) was defeated several times and fled, the treacherous [wretch] deceitfully [killed Janārdana], though accompanied by his heroic brother Viśvambhara, victorious and dignified like a god, and at his father's command accompanied also by his younger brother Sabala-siṁha. Then Balabhadra's land was burnt, his wealth carried off, and by means of the lord of the Yavanas he was even robbed of his kingdom.

Janārdana's son Pṛthvī-siṁha was yet a child; he left the country and went to the mountains of Maṇḍi, Kola, and so on. When after the lapse of many years a great change had taken place and Fate had become favourable, Pṛthvī-siṁha made an alliance with some feudatory chiefs and came with them from the Kola mountain. Having crossed much snow through the favour of the mountain-gods he expelled from the fortress the soldiers of the murderer of his father who were staying in his country, and everywhere slew them all in battle successfully. After overtaking the soldiers of the enemy which stayed at the town of Campā . . . . . and having killed the others which had invaded the country: the land was red with blood. After he had rendered the prince named Saṅgrāma[2] dependent on his will and given him Bhalehi, he (Pṛthvī-siṁha), eager to slay the murderer of his father, when, after having made an alliance with the lord of the Yavanas Mānyabhaṭa (?) and sought refuge in the town of Kalānōr, ...

[1] Jagat Singh Paṭhāniā of Nūrpur who stood in great favour with the Imperial Court. The term Yavana, originally meaning Ionian, *i.e.* Greek, is here used to designate the Moslims.

[2] Saṁgrām Pāl Balauriā of Basōhḷī. Cf. above p. 13.

Chapter VI.—ANCIENT HISTORY.

A.—The Rājās of Chambā.

Fig. 16. Temple of Maṇimahēs at Brahmor.

In the absence of epigraphical or literary evidence, we may assume that the territory now known as Chambā State once formed part —nominally at least— of the great empires of the Maurya̧s, the Kuṣaṇas and the Guptas, which successively rose and fell in Northern India. The names of Aśoka and of the three Kuṣaṇa princes, Huṣka, Juṣka, and Kaniṣka occur in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle among the early rulers of Kaśmīr, and it is not unlikely that they and Mihirakula the Hun, whose sway extended over Kaśmīr and Gandhāra, reckoned the Rāvī valley among their dominions. Nor does it seem improbable that in the 7th and 8th centuries, the suzerainty of Kaśmīr under the powerful rulers of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, was acknowledged by the chiefs then established in the upper valley of the Rāvī. The statement of the Rājataraṅgiṇī that the great Lalitāditya reckoned the king of Jālaṁdhara, *i.e.* Kāṅgṛā among his feudatories seems, according to Dr. Stein,[1] to be based on historical fact. The inference is therefore unavoidable that to the north of the Dhaulā Dhār also, the supremacy of Kaśmīr was acknowledged.[2] It is, however, worthy of note that none of the epigraphical records of the chiefs of

[1] *Rājat.* transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 89.

[2] The same would follow from Ptolemy who speaks of Κασπηρία ὑπο τὰς τοῦ Βιδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Σανδοβαλ καὶ τοῦ Ρωαδίου πηγάς "Kasperia (*i.e.* Kaśmīr) at the sources of the Bidaspes (Jēhlam), the Sandobal (Cīnāb) and the Roadis (Ravī)."

Chambā bears any evidence of their having recognised Kaśmīr as the paramount power. We must, therefore, assume that, if such a relationship existed, it was neither stringent nor permanent.

Meru-varman.

About A.D. 700, at the very time when the political influence of Kaśmīr had reached its zenith, we find in the upper Rāvī valley a Rājpūt chief of the Solar race, Meru-varman by name, who not only assumed the proud title of "king of kings" (*rājādhirāja*, inscr. No. 6), but actually must have been the liege-lord of feudatory chiefs. The name of one of them at least is preserved in the Gum inscription (No. 9), which at the same time proves that Meru-varman's rule extended down the Rāvī valley at least ten miles below its junction with the Budhal. His capital was Brahmor, where the temples and inscribed brass images erected by him still testify both to his piety and power. The temple of Chatrārhī, which also contains an inscribed idol dedicated by him, proves that on the left bank of the Rāvī his dominions included this village. The inscription (No. 8) on this image distinctly states that the Rājâ conquered his "enemies in their invincible castles," from which it would seem that he forcibly extended the territory held by his ancestors. The Chatrārhī inscription mentions the name of Meru-varman's father Deva-varman. Those of Brahmor (Nos. 5 and 6) call him Divākara-varman and contain, moreover, the names of Meru-varman's grandfather Bala-varman and of his great-grandfather Āditya-varman. It has been remarked above that Deva-varman's name occurs also in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (śl. 39) which calls him the son of Ādi-varman, perhaps the Āditya-varman of the inscription, in reality his grandfather. The *Vaṁśāvalī* has four names between Deva-varman and Meru-varman, which must have been interpolated.

Mūṣūṇa.

In two of the Brahmor inscriptions Meru-varman calls himself a scion of the Solar race and a descendant of the house (*gotra*) of Mūṣūṇa or Moṣūṇa. The latter form is perhaps meant for a *vṛddhi* derivative (correct *Mauṣūṇa*) of the former. In the Gum inscription we meet again with the name in the slightly modified form of *Moṣīṇa*. I feel inclined to identify the Mūṣūṇa of the inscription with the Mūṣaṇa who figures in the *Vaṁśāvalī* as the great-grandson of Meru-varman, and whose adventures are related at considerable length in that document (śl. 49-61). In popular legend his name has become converted into Mūs Brahmā or Mūshī Brahmā ("Mouse Brahmā"), which has given rise to the story that after his birth he was guarded by mice. It is significant that this tradition which is known to every inhabitant of Chambā, is not found in the *Vaṁśāvalī*. In the copper-plate grants Mūṣaṇa is very often mentioned as the progenitor of the Chambā Rājās.[1] First of all Vidagdha calls himself a scion of the house of Moṣaṇa and of the Solar race. It is curious that here again we meet with the form with *o* in the first syllable, which we have already noticed in the *Moṣūṇa* of the Lakṣaṇā image inscription. In the two grants of Soma-varman (Nos. 24 and 25) we find Sāhilla praised as "the great Jewel embellishing the house of Pauṣaṇa" (*Pauṣaṇa-vaṁśa-bhūṣaṇa-mahāmaṇi*) and in his grant

[1] In the following charters of the Muhammadan period Mūṣaṇa is mentioned: Saṁgrāma-varman (XIII, l. 8), Ānanda-varman (XV, l. 5), Gaṇeśa-varman (XXI, l. 5), Balabhadra (XLII, l. 7, XLIV, l. 2, LI. l. 8). All these rulers call themselves *Muṣaṇa-vaṁśa-bhūṣaṇa-maṇi*, "the Jewel adorning the house of *Mūṣaṇa*.

(No. 26) Āsaṭa calls himself "the only ornament of the house of Pauṣaṇa" (*Pauṣaṇa-kulaika-tilaka*). I presume that the form *Pauṣaṇa*, which is found on these three plates, is merely due to a clerical error and is to be read *Mauṣaṇa*, which can be explained as a *vṛddhi* derivative of the name *Mūṣaṇa*. It should be remembered that in Śāradā the letters *pa* and *ma* bear a close resemblance to one another and can easily be interchanged. I feel the more inclined to adopt this interpretation as the term Pauṣaṇa is grammatically incorrect. If read *Pauṣṇa*, it would be a regular *vṛddhi* derivative from Pūṣan, but even then it would be an uncommon expression by which to designate the Sūrya-vaṁśa.[1]

Mṛtyuñjaya-varman.

If my assumption regarding the identity of Mūsūṇa and Mūṣaṇa is correct, it follows that the latter's name in the Vaṁśāvalī is entirely out of place. None of the other rulers mentioned in that document as Meru-varman's successors are proved by any epigraphical records to be historical. On the other hand, we have in the Proḷī-rā-gaḷā rock inscription (No. 11) the name of Mṛtyuñjaya-varman, which is not found in the Vaṁśāvalī. The cognomen *varman* makes it probable that the bearer of that name was a scion of the house of Mūṣūṇa, who may have ruled some two centuries after Meru-varman.

Sāhilla-varman.

When from the 10th century inscriptions again become numerous, we find that a great change has taken place. The copper-plate grants which now make their appearance are all dated from the town of Chambā as the seat of government. The territory of their princely donors extended over the lower Rāvī valley, and thus the original Brahmor principality had developed into the Chambā State. The author of this important change, according to the Vaṁśāvalī, was Sāhilla-varman whose name is associated with many a popular legend. The statement that Sāhilla was the founder of Chambā town there is no reason to doubt, as the charters of his son Yugākara and of his grandson Vidagdha (Nos. 14 and 15) were issued from that place. We possess no record contemporaneous with Sāhilla himself, but in two copper-plates of the 11th century (Nos. 24 and 25) we find a passage devoted to his praise which, within its gaudy garb of eastern verbosity, contains some interesting facts of his reign. The circumstance that Soma-varman and Āsaṭa, the donors of those grants, who probably lived a century after Sāhilla, looked back to him as their most distinguished ancestor, supports the tradition that he was the real founder not only of the town but also of the present State of Chambā.[2]

The substance of the long passage referred to is that he was in alliance with the Rājās of Trigarta (Kāṅgṛā) and Kulūta (Kuḷū) and repulsed the combined attack of the Saumaṭikas and the Kīra troops of the Rājā of Durgara (Ḍugar). The Saumaṭikas are undoubtedly the people of Sumaṛtā (map Sambarta)[3] a tract in the former Hill State of Basōhḷī, or Balor, which is frequently mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī under the name of Vallāpura. Evidently at the time of our inscription

[1] In my preliminary article on inscriptions in Chambā State I read *Pauṣṇa* (from *Pūṣan*).

[2] Sāhilla is not mentioned in the later copper-plate inscriptions except in one of Pratāp Siṅgh who calls himself *śrīmat-Salila-devasya nirmale kule tilaka-bhūtaḥ*.

[3] It is evidently the Samur Thung (*sic*) of Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 176.

Sumaṛtā was a principality which afterwards became absorbed into the Balor State, or it may have been the ancient name of that State itself.

The Kīras,[1] with whom the Saumaṭikas had combined, are known from other sources as a tribe settled in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīr. Sometimes they are identified with the Kaśmīrīs. In the present case they seem to have acted as mercenaries in the service of the chief of Durgara, the modern Ḍugar, and were sent by him to the assistance of Sumaṛtā against Chambā. The whole episode reminds us of what happened some eight centuries afterwards, when a Rājā of Jammū sent an army under the chief of Basōhlī to invade Chambā, which was repulsed with the help of the Sikhs. Anyhow, the contest referred to was evidently one of those petty wars which used to be the favourite occupation of the Hill Rājpūts. Sāhilla, while extending his dominions down the Rāvī valley, was bound to come into collision with the rulers of Vallāpura or Sumaṭa, as apparently their State was then called. The Saumaṭikas would naturally apply for help to their neighbours the Dāurgaras or Ḍōgrās, and the chief of Chambā secured the support of the rulers of Kāṅgṛā and Kuḷū. With the latter he was related by blood, but it may be rightly doubted whether Sāhilla exercised any suzerainty over Kuḷū, as would appear from the inscription. If we are to believe his eulogist, the Chambā chief was victorious, which fact may have been largely due to his alliance with his more powerful neighbours of the Biās valley.

In one of the two copper-plates (No. 25) which contain the eulogy of Sāhilla, mention is made of another victory, in this instance won over the Turuṣkas. This term, originally applied to the Turks, is indiscriminately used to designate any kind of foreign invaders. It is, therefore, impossible to decide who Sāhilla's opponents were. I feel inclined to assume that they were mercenaries employed by one of the neighbouring Hill chiefs.

Sāhilla's pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra on the occasion of an eclipse is quite in keeping with prevailing custom. It would seem that his pilgrimage and royal gift of "a multitude of elephants" to the Sun-god Bhāskara had the special object of obtaining a son and heir, and it is interesting to note that Sāhilla's austerities described in the Vaṁśāvalī had the same purpose in view. Here, however, a holy man of the name of Carpaṭi figures as the agent of divine favour. He accompanied, so the chronicle says, the chief on his conquest of the lower Rāvī valley and took a leading part in the founding of the new capital. As the group of temples near the Chambā palace contains a sanctuary dedicated to the memory of Carpaṭ Nāth, there is some reason to assume that Sāhilla's spiritual adviser is not merely a fictitious personage.[2]

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[1] The Kīras are mentioned *Rājat*, VIII, 2787; transl. Stein Vol. II p. 217, and *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* XIV 29. Apparently the name occurs in "Kīragrāma," the modern Baijnāth in Kāṅgṛā. In the Vaṁśāvalī (śl. 48) mention is made of a Kīra invasion in the reign of Lakṣmī-varman. The Kīras are also mentioned among other non-Aryan tribes in the Khajurāho inscription of Yaśo-varman Candēlla (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 124) and also in the Bhera-ghāṭ and Karanbel inscriptions.

[2] Carpaṭ Nāth is one of the *gurus* of the sect of the Jōgīs. Cf. J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, (London, 1903) p. 186.

The chief temple of this group dedicated to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is ascribed to Sāhilla. There is no reason to disbelieve tradition which is unanimous on this point, though there is no epigraphical document to support it.

The Vaṁśāvalī dwells at some length on the difficulties experienced in obtaining from the Vindhya Mountains a block of white marble for the image. Sāhilla deputed nine of his sons[1] for the purpose, but the stone they brought back was found to contain a frog, and though unsuitable for the proposed image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, it was considered good enough to be made into a *liṅga*. When the nine sons were sent out again they were still less successful, for they were killed in a fight with robbers (Skr. *dasyu*). Then Yugākara, apparently the only surviving son, went on the same errand, slew the enemies from Mukuṭa-koṭa as far as the snowy mountains (?) and returned with the precious block of white marble. The mention of Mukuṭa-koṭa is curious, as one of our inscriptions (No. 17) speaks of a locality Makuṭa—apparently the ancient name of Tur. This place lies on the road to the Balenī Pass, a much frequented route into Kāṅgṛā. If we may identify Mukuṭa-koṭa with this Makuṭa, it would follow that Yugākara marched into Kāṅgṛā, and it is questionable whether he went much farther to obtain his piece of marble. It is a curious coincidence that, according to a tradition existing in Kāṅgṛā, the famous idol of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa came originally from that place.

The consecration of the idol of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa had a special significance in the *historia sacra* of Chambā, as it was raised to the rank of the chief deity and thus Viṣṇuism became virtually the State religion of Chambā. This did not prevent the dedication of shrines to Śiva alongside the Viṣṇu temple—nor did it in any way affect the worship of Devīs and Nāgas in other parts of the State.

Yugākara-varman.

Yugākara- (or Yagākara-) varman,[2] the son and successor of Sāhilla, is known to us from a copper-plate inscription (No. 14) issued in the tenth year of his reign. No particulars are mentioned regarding him except that his mother's name was Nennā-Devī. In the Vaṁśāvalī he is said to have assisted his father in reducing the Kṣatriyas and founding the town of Chambā. The term *kṣatriya* probably denotes here the petty Rājpūt chieftains, called Rāṇās, who held the lower Rāvī valley previous to the consolidation of the State by Sāhilla. Yugākara, as we saw, also succeeded in obtaining the block of marble for the Nārāyaṇa image. About his own reign, however, nothing is recorded. Tradition ascribes to him the founding of the temple of Gaurī-Śaṅkara at Chambā. This well agrees with the site of that temple in the same group with that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa founded by Sāhilla, and also with the Śivaitic colouring of Yugākara's copper-plate grant. It opens with a stanza in honour of Śiva, the Soul of the Universe. This is the more remarkable, as the grant was issued to Narasiṁha the

[1] In Vigne's account of the legend the ten sons of Sāhilla have become sixteen. Cf. his *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 158.

[2] In his own charter (No. 14) he is called "Yagākara-varman," in that of his son (No. 15) "Yugākara-varman," and in the Vaṁśāvalī "Yugākāra." I presume that the second one is the correct form. The meaning of the name would be "dispenser of teams (scil. of cows)." The name does not occur anywhere else. Cf. Sujanākara *Rājat.* VIII 312.

Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu.[1] The temple of this deity which is still extant at Brahmor, and which the Vaṁśāvalī erroneously attributes to Meru-varman, is stated in Yugākara's copper-plate to have been founded by Tribhuvana-rekhā Devī, who may have been a queen either of Sāhilla or of Yugākara himself. The latter seems the more probable assumption.

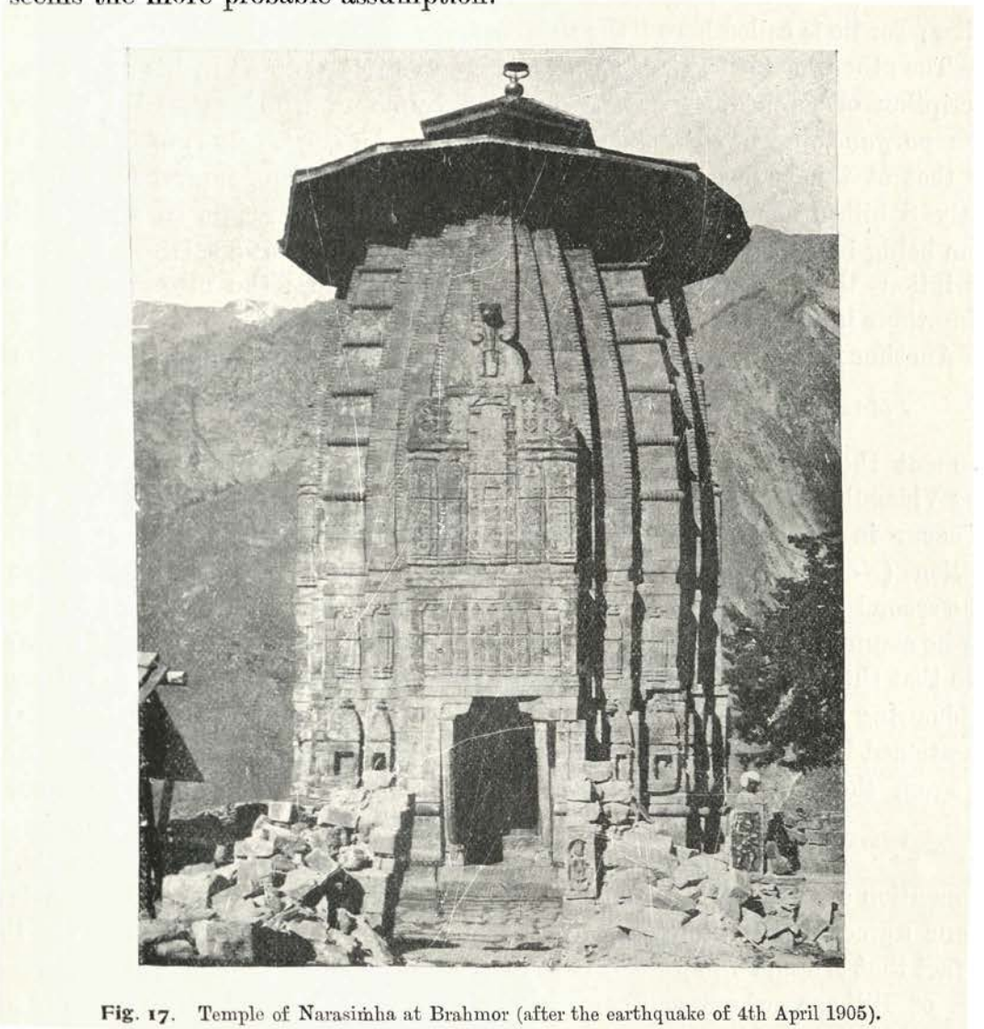

Fig. 17. Temple of Narasiṁha at Brahmor (after the earthquake of 4th April 1905).

Vidagdha.

Yugākara's son and successor was Vidagdha, of whose reign we possess two epigraphical records. One is a copper-plate grant (No. 15) issued by Vidagdha himself in the fourth year of his reign to a Brahman, Nandu by name, who came from Kurukṣetra. As Vidagdha's reign probably falls about the time of the invasions of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, we may assume that the grantee was a refugee. Possibly he had been the local *purohita* of the Rājās of Chambā, who as we have seen were in the habit of performing pilgrimages to Kurukṣetra. From the wording of the inscription, however, it is not clear whether the donee himself or his grandfather had left "the

[1] As the word *Narasiṁhasya* has evidently been added, it is not impossible that the grant was originally made to another deity. But the name may have been simply modernized at the time when the character of the plate was no longer understood.

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hermitage of holy Kurukṣetra" for Chambā. His descendants enjoy the grant up to the present day.

The inscription, apart from the usual laudatory epithets, does not contain any facts regarding the royal donor, except that he was the son of Yugākara and Queen Bhogamatī. Vidagdha evidently shared the Śivaitic propensities of his father; for he is called here "the supreme worshipper of Maheśvara."

The other document (No. 17) of Vidagdha's reign, dated in his first year, is an inscription of a feudatory chief, Thakkika by name, who was settled at Tur in the Basu *pargaṇā* and owed allegiance to the Chambā Rājā. It is of interest as showing that at this period the Rāvī valley was still partly occupied by Rāṇās. Evidently Sāhilla's conquest of the lower valley did not result in their extinction. From being independent chieftains they simply became his vassals. In this and other inscriptions the vassalage of the Rāṇās is evident from the circumstance of their dating their inscriptions in the regnal year of their liege-lord.

Dodaka.

Another inscription from Tur (No. 18) mentions the name of Dodaka as that of Vidagdha's successor. He is undoubtedly identical with the Dogdha of the Vaṁśāvalī (śl. 82), though in that document the Rājā of this name figures as the father and predecessor of Vidagdha. After Vidagdha we find the names Vicitra-varman and Dhairya-varman, which do not occur in any inscription. On the other hand, we possess three fountain inscriptions (Nos. 20-22) dated in the reign of a Trailokya-deva who must have lived in the second quarter of the 11th century. In one inscription—that of Ñaghai (No. 22)—he assumes the royal titles usually borne by independent rulers. I have shown above that there is much reason to assume that this Trailokya was a ruler of the neighbouring Hill State of Balor (Skr. Vallāpura). He preceded Kalaśa-(pāla), who is mentioned in the Rāja-taraṅginī (VII, 220) as an antagonist of Ananta of Kaśmīr.

Sālavāhana.

From the middle of the 11th century Chambā history becomes more coherent and detailed, as now the local records are supplemented by numerous references in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. The first mention of Chambā in the Rājataraṅginī is to the effect that Ananta-deva of Kaśmīr uprooted Sāla the ruler of Campā and placed another prince on the throne. The fact that Ananta vanquished Sāla is also mentioned in the Vikramāṅkadeva-carita of Bilhaṇa, who was a contemporary of Ananta-deva.[1] The name of Sāla is not found in the Vaṁśāvalī, owing perhaps to the shortness of his reign or to its ignominious end. But in the three copper-plate inscriptions of the 11th century, edited in the present Volume, we meet with the name of Sālavāhana who, as first pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, must be identical with the Sāla of the Rājataraṅginī.[2]

Soma-varman.

Those three grants were issued by his sons and immediate successors, Soma-varman and Āsaṭa. The former, whose name is likewise omitted in the Vaṁśāvalī, must have been the prince raised to the throne by Ananta-deva of Kaśmīr. The exact time of this event

[1] *Rājat.*; VII, 218, transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 286. *Vikram.* (ed. Bühler) XVIII, 38.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* XVII (1888) pp. 8 f. *Sāla* is an abbreviation (Bhīmavat) of *Sālavāhana*. Cunningham has confused Sāhilla with Sālavāhana. He first identified the former with the Sāla of the Rājataraṅginī (*A. S. R.* XIV, 115), and also with the Sālavāhana of the copper-plates (*A. S. R.* XXI., 135), and again in his *Ancient Geography* (p. 141) he makes Sāla the founder of the town of Chambā, *i.e.* Sāhilla. His reference to Ferishta must be due to an oversight.

cannot be fixed, but we have pointed out that most probably it took place between the years A.D. 1050 and 1060.[1] No events are known of Soma-varman's reign. He was succeeded by his brother Āsaṭa presumably between A.D. 1070 and 1080.

Āsaṭa.

It stands to reason that Ananta's expedition against Chambā and Balor had for its object to assert the old claims of Kaśmīr suzerainty over the principalities of the Rāvī valley. In this he seems to have succeeded, for we meet with the names of Āsaṭa of Chambā and the Rājā of Balor among those of the eight Hill Chiefs who visited Śrīnagar in the winter of 1087-88, in the reign of Kalaśa, Ananta's son and successor.[2] The other six princes were Kīrti of Babbāpura (Durgara), Saṁgrāma-pāla of Rājapurī (Rājaurī), Utkarṣa of Lohara (Loharin), Saṅgaṭa (?) of Uraśā (Hazārā), Gambhīra-sīha of Kānda and Uttama-rāja of Kāṣṭhavāṭa (Kaṣṭavār).

Kalaśa had previously married Āsaṭa's sister Bappikā,[3] and their son, the ill-fated Harṣa, became king in 1089, shortly after his father had died at Mārtāṇḍa. The following table shows the relationship between the ruling houses of Kaśmīr and Chambā :—

Sālavāhana ∞ Raṛḍhā of Campā

Ananta-deva ∞ Sūryamatī of Trigarta†1081
reigns A.D. 1028-63 ; † 1081.

Soma-varman | Āsaṭa | Bappikā ∞ Kalaśa A.D. 1063-1089.

Jāsaṭa acc. A.D. 1105.

Harṣa, born A.D. 1058 ; † 1101.

Bhoja

Bhikṣācara, born A.D. 1099 ; † 1130.

Although the facts related by Kalhaṇa seem to point to the dependence of Chambā on Kaśmīr, it is curious that in their contemporaneous records none of the Chambā Rājās acknowledge in any way Kaśmīr suzerainty. On the contrary, they assume throughout the full titles of independent kings. Kalhaṇa also, wherever he mentions the Chambā rulers, never uses the term *sāmanta* "vassal," but always applies to them some expression meaning "king" (*bhūpāla, nṛpati*). It seems that the dependence of Chambā and the other Hill States of the Rāvī and Cīnāb valleys chiefly consisted in the obligation of military assistance. The relationship was perhaps the same as that existing at a later time between the Rājās of Jammū and their vassals. "The feudatory chiefs," says Drew,[4] "those for instance of Akhnūr, Dolpatpūr, Kiramchi, *etc*, governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jummoo they paid tribute and did military service."

The second of the three copper-plate grants (No. 26) mentioned above was granted by Soma-varman, but issued in the first year of Āsaṭa. It contains the signature of both. An addition to it is dated in the eleventh year of Āsaṭa's reign.

[1] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 141, places the invasion of Campā by Ananta between A.D. 1028 and 1031, which is decidedly too early. Ananta's succession took place in A.D. 1028, but he was then a minor, as is distinctly stated by Kalhaṇa. *Rājat*, VII, 134-135, transl. Stein, Vol. I. p. 278.

[2] *Rājat.* VII, 588 ; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 315.

[3] *Rājat.* VII, 319 ; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 294. Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV. p. 115, places this event in A.D. 1060. But this is too late, as Harṣa was born in A.D. 1058. Cf. *Rājat.* VII, 1717 ; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 400.

[4] *Jummoo*, p. 9.

It records the donation of lands in various villages round the capital to two temples of Viṣṇu and one of Śiva. One of the Viṣṇu temples is undoubtedly that known by the name of Hari Rāī which stands between the Post Office and the Telegraph Office, at the side of the Caugān Gate. The Śiva temple referred to in the inscription appears to be no longer extant. It is stated to have been founded by Rarḍhā-devī, the queen of Sālavāhana (here called Sālākara-varman) apparently for the sake of the future bliss of her husband. This queen was the mother of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa the donors of the grant. Among the lands presented to the temples there were some in the Pānthila *maṇḍala* (now the Pañjilā *pargaṇā*) which at the time were enjoyed by the queen-mother, from which it follows that she had not become *satī* on the death of her husband.

I may mention here a hypothesis advanced by Mr. V. A. Smith,[1] according to which a rare silver coin of a debased bull-and-horseman type might be ascribed to Āsaṭa the chief of Campā. It should, however, be remarked that there is no evidence of Campā having ever possessed her own coinage except the copper *cakli*, of which I have seen no specimens of an earlier date than the reign of Rājā Caṛhat Siṅgh (A.D. 1808-44).

Jāsaṭa.

The third and last copper-plate of the 11th century was issued by Āsaṭa in the fifth year from his succession. Neither this nor the previous plate contains any particulars about his reign. According to the *Vaṁśāvalī* he was succeeded by his son Jāsaṭa. The year of his accession is proved by the Luj and Lōh-Ṭikrī inscriptions (Nos. 28 and 29) to be A.D. 1105. These two inscriptions also establish the fact that both Curāh and Pāṅgī then belonged to the territories ruled by the Chambā Rājā. We have seen above that in the second quarter of the 11th century Curāh formed part of the Vallāpura State, but it appears that in the first year of Soma-varman's reign it had come under the rule of Chambā. It seems probable that Sālavāhana added it to his dominions.

Before his accession Jāsaṭa took an active part in the civil war which, owing to Harṣa's misrule, had broken out in Kaśmīr. It will be remembered that Jāsaṭa was Harṣa's first cousin; it was, therefore, natural that he should side with his kinsman against the Lohara brothers, Uccala and Sussala. His support, however, did not save Harṣa from ruin. Jāsaṭa seems to have been with the army of Harṣa's general, Candrarāja, which was defeated by Sussala in A.D. 1101 near Vijbror (*vulgo* Bij-bihara). At least, Kalhaṇa mentions him among the four princes who, with the remnant of that army, had taken refuge in the temple-yard of Vijayeśvara and surrendered to Sussala. "He (Sussala)," the chronicle says,[2] "opened the door and stepped out quite alone, carrying his sword and using harsh insulting words, into the midst of those assembled in the court-yard of the temple of Vijayeśvara, where there were king Jāsaṭa, the son of king Harṣa's maternal uncle, and three other

[1] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Oxford 1906), pp. 244 f. and p. 249; plate XXVI, 6. But *cf.* appendix IV.

[2] *Rājat.* VII, 1512; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 385. At the time of this event Jāsaṭa was not yet king (*nṛpati*), but only heir-apparent, perhaps *yuvarāja*. Kalhaṇa rightly calls him "the son of King Harṣa's maternal uncle." Umādhara whom Kalhaṇa mentions as the principal of the other three Rājās who surrendered to Sussala, was perhaps a chief of Babbāpura. In the sequel we shall meet twice with a Rājā of Babbāpura of the name of Vajradhara among the supporters of Harṣa's grandson, Bhikṣācara.

chiefs, Umādhara, etc., and where the multitude of Rājaputras, horsemen, Tantrins and feudatories belonging to the eighteen divisions of the army could not be counted. He mercifully promised safety to those who prostrated themselves, and left after taking the image of Śiva Vijayeśvara there as witness. He then ascended again to the terrace, had them all disarmed and led up by his servants, with their arms bound by ropes. The place where Sussala held his assembly, being covered with heaps of gold and silver sword-hilts and decked with arms, appeared as if decorated with strewn flowers. He handed them over to the Ḍāmaras to guard as one hands cattle to herdsmen, and stopped there for three days." This event sealed Harṣa's fate and was immediately followed by the murder of himself and his son Bhoja.

Uccala of Kaśmīr.

Uccala now became king of Kaśmīr. Bhoja's infant son, born in Bhādōn 1099, who had received the inauspicious name of Bhikṣu or Bhikṣācara (beggar), was allowed to live, though, as Kalhaṇa[1] remarks, "he should have been treated as an enemy, as he continued the enemy's stock." A few years afterwards when Uccala, threatened by various pretenders, wished to destroy the boy, he was saved by his relative the princess Āsamatī and taken to the court of king Nara-varman of Mālava, where he was trained in arms and taught the sciences. Uccala at once took steps to prevent his return to Kaśmīr, by concluding treaties with the princess, whose lands lay on the route. But this precaution proved futile. In the year 1111 after a troublous reign of ten years Uccala was murdered. Kalhaṇa extols on this occasion the valiant conduct of a Rājpūt from Chambā, named Soma-pāla, who was slain in the attempt to defend his royal master against the conspirators. Possibly this Soma-pāla belonged to one of the baronial houses who held parts of the Rāvī and Cīnāb valleys as feudatories of the Chambā Rājā.[2]

Sussala of Kaśmīr.

After a short interregnum the royal power was usurped by Uccala's brother Sussala who succeeded in holding his own against the powerful Garga-candra, Sahasra-maṅgala and other malcontents. But ere long a more dangerous opponent arose in the person of Harṣa's grandson Bhikṣācara. Though yet a boy, Bhikṣācara, provided with money by the king of Mālava and accompanied by Āsamatī, had started on the perilous undertaking of recovering his ancestral throne. At Kurukṣetra he happened to fall in with five Hill Chiefs who, after having made a compact for the journey, were performing the pilgrimage to that holy place. Three of them were ruling chiefs, namely Jāsaṭa of Campā, Vajradhara of Babbāpura and Sahaja-pāla of Vartula. The two others—Balha of Trigarta and Ānanda-rāja of Vallāpura—were *Yuvarājas* (*i.e.* heirs-apparent and co-regents). In view of subsequent events, we may assume that Bhikṣācara's meeting with the Hill Chiefs took place either in A.D. 1113 or 1115. It has been remarked above that pilgrimages to Kurukṣetra were and still are performed on the occasion of solar eclipses. In 1113 there occurred a solar eclipse on the 19th March and in 1115 on the 23rd July.

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[1] *Rājat.* VIII, 16-18; transl. Stein, Vol. II, pp. 2 f. For the date of Bhikṣācara's birth cf. *Rājat.* VIII, 1775: transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 138.

[2] *Rājat.* VIII, 323; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 27. The Rājānakas of the Chambā inscriptions almost invariably bear names ending in *-pāla*.

It may be assumed that the Chambā Rājā welcomed the opportunity thus offered to avenge himself for the disgrace of Vijabror. He received his youthful kinsman with the distinction due to his royal blood, and the other Hill Chiefs treated him with like honour. Thus he proceeded to Vallāpura, where Rājā Padmaka, at the instance of Jāsaṭa and of the *Yuvarāja*,[1] gave him his daughter in marriage. A Ṭhākur of that country, Gayapāla by name, collected troops, in order to restore Bhikṣācara to the rank enjoyed by his grandfather, but, before he could give effect to his design, he was murdered by his own relatives.[2] Daryaka, the principal of the pretender's supporters, fell in an expedition sent out by Padmaka against the murderers. After the faithful Āsamatī had died and the funds provided by the king of Mālava had become exhausted, Bhikṣācara received less attention from his father-in-law, the Rājā of Vallāpura.

He, therefore, left Vallāpura for Chambā and tarried with Jāsaṭa for four or five years. But here also the interest in the royal refugee seems to have declined considerably; for Kalhaṇa assures us that during his stay in Jāsaṭa's house "he secured with difficulty mere food and clothing."[3] His next place of retreat was the castle of a Ṭhākur Deṅga-pāla which stood on the banks of the Candrabhāgā, probably somewhere between Dodā and Rihāsī.[4] This Deṅga-pāla seems to have been an independent baron, such as existed in some parts of the Upper Candrabhāgā valley until recent times. He received Bhikṣācara with distinction and gave him his daughter Bappikā in marriage. "While the prince," the chronicler says, "stopped there for some time in comfort and without fear, he left behind misery and boyhood." From these words we may assume that the events here related took place about 1117 when Bhikṣācara had reached the age of eighteen years.[5] In the following year a conflict in Rājapurī, on the road to Kaśmīr, afforded him an opportunity to take another step towards the attainment of his aims. Saṁgrāma-pāla, whom we have met with among the princes who visited Śrīnagar in the winter of 1087-88, had died, leaving three sons Pratāpa-pāla, Soma-pāla and Nāga-pāla. The eldest, Pratāpa-pāla, was imprisoned and subsequently put to death by order of Soma-pāla, who ascended the throne.

Nāgapala, after killing Pratāpa-pāla's murderer, took refuge with Sussala. Threatened with war by the king of Kaśmīr, Somapāla applied for help to Bhikṣā-cara, who apparently at that time had returned to his first father-in-law, Padmaka. At least Kalhaṇa states that Soma-pāla called him from Vallāpura. As the pre-tender, on his gradual advance towards Kaśmīr, had now approached the very gates of that country, Sussala realised that the moment had come for vigorous action to check his further progress.

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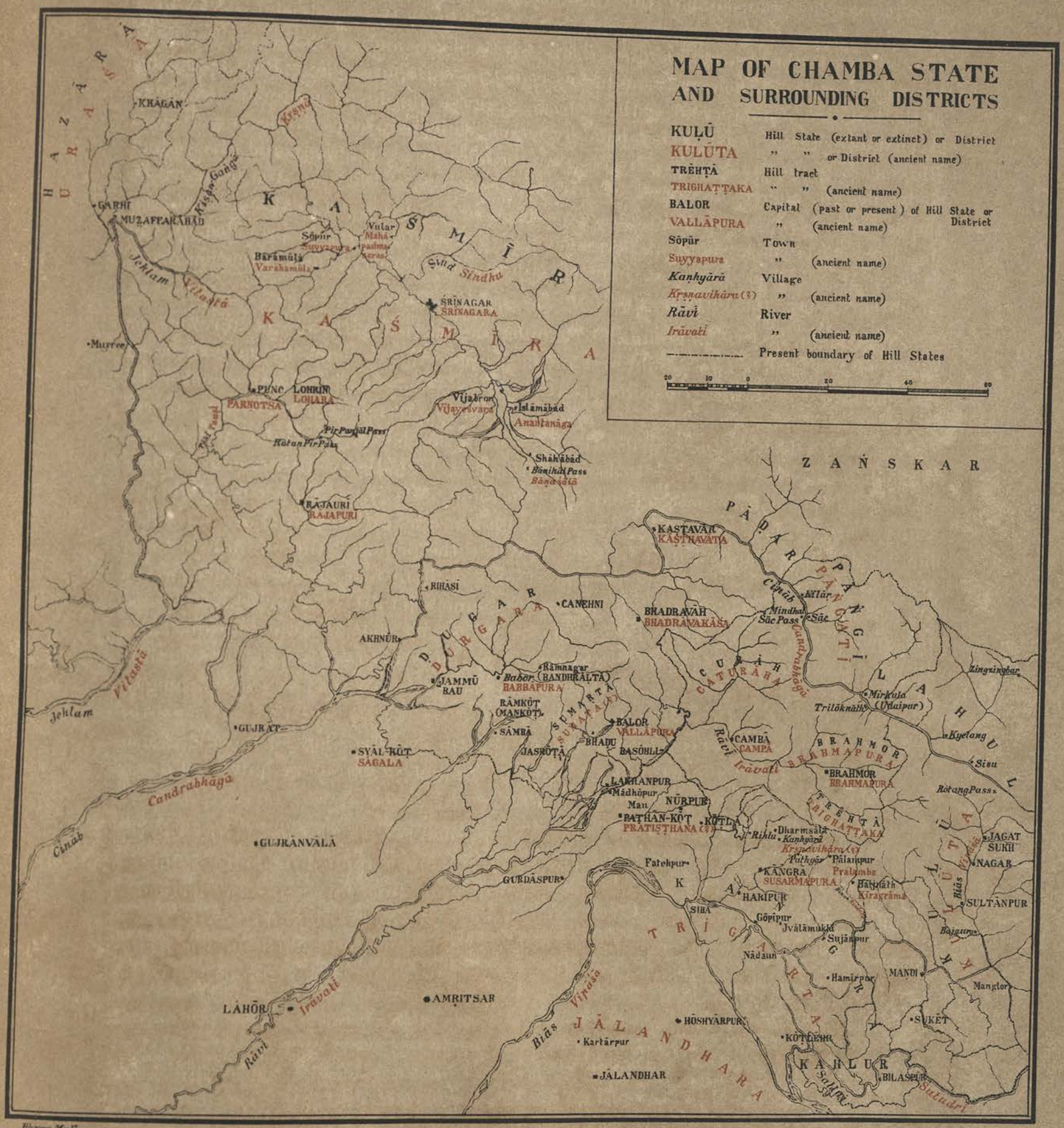
[1] *Rājat.* VIII, 537 ff.; transl. Stein Vol. II, pp. 44 f. Dr. Stein presumes that Balha of Trigarta is meant. It seems, however, more natural that it was the *yuvarāja* of Vallāpura who induced his father, Padmaka, to conclude a matrimonial alliance with the pretender.

[2] The name of this Gayapāla is perhaps preserved in one of our Chambā inscriptions (No. 34).

[3] It is curious that in the Chambā dialect the word *bhichu* denotes a "mischievous, troublesome person," but it is probably derived from the generic Sanskrit name *bhikṣu*.

[4] Cf. *Rājat.* VIII, 1729; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 135.

[5] For the events here summarised see *Rājat.* VIII, 538-542 and 547-555; transl. Stein, Vol. II, pp. 44 f.


MAP OF CHAMBA STATE
AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS
KUḶŪ Hill State (extant or extinct) or District
KULŪTA " " or District (ancient name)
TRĒHṬĀ Hill tract
TRIGHAṬṬAKA " " (ancient name)
BALOR Capital (past or present) of Hill State or District
VALLĀPURA " (ancient name)
Sōpūr Town
Suyyapura " (ancient name)
Kaṇhyārā Village
Kṛṣṇavihāra (?) " (ancient name)
Rāvī River
Irāvatī " (ancient name)
Present boundary of Hill States
20 10 0 20 40 60
HAZĀRA
URAŚA
KHĀGĀN
Kṛṣṇā
Kiṣan Gaṅgā
GARHI
MUZAFFARĀBĀD
Jehlam
Vitastā
Murree
KAŚMĪR
Sōpūr
Suyyapura
Vular
Mahāpadmasaras
Bārāmūla
Varāhamūla
Sind
Sindhu
ŚRĪNAGAR
ŚRĪNAGARA
KAŚMĪRA
PUNC
PARNOTSA
LOHRIN
LOHARA
Pir Panjāl Pass
Rotan Pir Pass
Vijabror
Vijayeśvara
Islāmābād
Anantanāga
Shāhābād
Bānihāl Pass
Bāṇaśālā
RĀJAURĪ
RĀJAPURĪ
ZAṄSKAR
PĀḌAR
KAṢṬAVĀR
KĀṢṬHAVATA
PĀṄGĪ
PĀṄGATĪ
Cināb
Kilār
Mindhal
Sāc Pass
Sāc
Candrabhāgā
RIHĀSĪ
CANEHNI
DUGAR
DURGARA
BHADRAVĀH
BHADRĀVAKĀŚA
AKHNŪR
JAMMŪ
BAU
Rāmnagar
(BANDHRĀLTĀ)
Babor
BABBĀPURA
RĀMKŌṬ
(MANKŌṬ)
SĀMBĀ
SUMARTĀ
SUMATĀ
BALOR
VALLĀPURA
BHADU
BASŌHLI
JASRŌṬĀ
CURĀH
CATURĀHA
Mirkula
(Udaipur)
Trilōknāth
LAHUL
Zingzingbar
Kyelang
Sisu
Rotang Pass
Jehlam
Vitastā
GUJRĀT
SYĀL-KŌṬ
SĀGALA
Candrabhāgā
Cināb
CAMBĀ
CAMPĀ
Rāvī
Irāvatī
BRAHMOR
BRAHMAPURA
BRAHMOR
BRAHMAPURA
LAKHANPUR
Mādhōpur
Mau
NŪRPUR
PAṬHĀN-KŌṬ
PRATIṢṬHANA (?)
KŌṬLĀ
TRĒHṬĀ
TRIGHAṬṬAKA
Dharmsālā
Kaṇhyārā
Kṛṣṇavihāra (?)
Pāṭhyār
Pālampur
Pralamba
KĀNGRA
SUSARMAPURA
Bāijnāth
Kīragrāma
Rihlu
JAGAT SUKH
NAGAR
SULTĀNPUR
Bajaur
Bias
Vipāśā
GUJRĀNVĀLĀ
Fatehpur
GURDĀSPUR
KĀNGRA
HARIPUR
SIBĀ
Gōpīpur
Jvālāmukhī
Sujānpur
Nādaun
Hamīrpur
MANDI
Manglor
TRIGARTA
KULŪTA
LĀHŌR
Irāvatī
AMṚITSAR
Bias
Vipāśā
JĀLANDHARA
HŌSHYĀRPUR
Kartārpur
JĀLANDHAR
KŌṬLĒHR
SUKĒT
KAHLUR
BILĀSPUR
Sutudri
Sallmi
Rāvī

Bhoora Mull

Sussala's expedition.

In the autumn of 1118 he marched against Rājapurī, put Soma-pāla to flight, installed Nāga-pāla in his stead and stayed there for seven months "causing terror to his various enemies." Who those enemies were is not definitely stated. Only one of them is mentioned by name, *viz.* Vajradhara of Babbāpura, whom we have found among the princes who met Bhikṣācara at Kurukṣetra and espoused his cause. Babbāpura, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] was situated on the left bank of the Tavvi, 17 miles due east of Jammū, and must have been the ancient capital of Durgara.

It is evident that Sussala's expedition was necessitated by the movements of the pretender, whom we have seen coming to the Rāvī valley about 1114, advancing to the banks of the Candrabhāgā about 1117, and finally settling at Rājaurī. Sussala's object must, therefore, have been to discomfit the coalition of princes who had taken up Bhikṣācara's cause, and among whom those of Campā and Vallāpura were foremost. The king of Kaśmīr made Rājapurī the base of his operations and sent marauding parties down the valleys of the Candrabhāgā and other rivers. It seems that Sussala's troops penetrated even as far as the upper Rāvī. This I infer from Kalhaṇa's statement that "the pious king (Sussala) preserved in the enemy's land Brahmapurī and its temples." The word *brahmapurī* occurs elsewhere in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as a generic name of uncertain meaning, but here, used in the singular, it can only be a proper name. I presume that Brahmapura the ancient capital of Chambā is meant. As to the significance of Sussala's campaign for Chambā history no information is forthcoming.[2]

It is to be regretted that Kalhaṇa is not more explicit in his account of Sussala's expedition against the chiefs of the Candrabhāgā valley. His vagueness is perhaps intentional and due to the circumstance that, notwithstanding the submission of Vajradhara and other princes, the undertaking evidently ended in failure. It should be remembered that Kalhaṇa composed his chronicle under Sussala's son and successor, Jaya-siṁha. Even the king's primary aim was not attained, for Nāga-pāla had to abandon his capital, and followed his patron to Kaśmīr in the spring of 1119. Sussala's ill-success is still more obvious from the fact that in the following year a rising of the Ḍāmaras or feudal land-holders afforded Bhikṣācara a welcome opportunity to enter Kaśmīr and ascend the throne of his grandfather. But not for long did he enjoy the sweets of royalty. The energy which had marked his career in adversity left him as soon as fortune smiled on him, and the hereditary vices of Ananta's race soon became manifest in the young king. Only six months after his accession he had to flee the country, and Sussala re-assumed the royal dignity. Bhikṣācara established himself at Puṣiānā (Skr. Puṣyāṇanāḍa) on the Pīr Pantsāl road, from where he made inroads into Kaśmīr territory.

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[1] Cf. *J. R. A. S.* for 1907, pp. 403 ff.

[2] On Sussala's campaign cf. *Rājat.* VIII, 621-635; transl. Stein, Vol. II, pp. 50 f. Dr. Stein in a letter dated 9th August 1905 calls my interpretation of *Rājat.* VIII, 628 "very acceptable and convincing." "Kalhaṇa's expression in VIII, 628," he remarks, "might have been clearer than it is, considering that a specific locality is meant by Brahmapurī, but then we know that Book VIII was never properly revised by its author and perhaps he was not himself quite clear as to what sort of a place Brahmapurī was. His geographical horizon was limited." As a generic name *brahmapurī* occurs. *Rājat.* VIII, 2421, 2423.

Udaya-varman.

It does not appear that Jāsaṭa of Campā played any part in the later adventures of Bhikṣācara. The year of his death is unknown. According to the Vaṁśāvalī (śl. 84) he died without an heir and was succeeded by his brother Ḍhāla-varman. Neither this ruler nor his three successors, Ajita, Daityāri and Pṛthvī-varman, have left any record of their reigns. If the names of these four princes are historical, their reigns must have been very short. In 1117 Jāsaṭa seems still to have been alive, and in 1122 we meet in the Rājataraṅgiṇī with a Rājā of Campā of the name of Udaya-varman. According to the Vaṁśāvalī he was the son of Pṛthvī-varman. Udaya figures again in Kalhaṇa's account of the civil war in Kaśmīr. We find him and Jajjala[1] of Vallāpura among the noblemen who valiantly assisted Sussala in defending Śrīnagara against Bhikṣācara. With their help Sussala not only repulsed the enemy, but inflicted a severe defeat on the Ḍāmara allies of Bhikṣācara at the Gopādri hill (Takht-i-Sulaimān). How it happened that both Campā and Vallāpura had abandoned the cause of the pretender and joined his adversary, is not apparent from the chronicler's narrative.

Death of Sussala.

The close alliance between the king of Kaśmīr and the chiefs of the Rāvī valley is also evident from the fact that Sussala had married two princesses from Campā—Devalekhā, praised for her beauty, and her sister Taralalekhā—and one princess from Vallāpura, Jajjalā by name. After Sussala's murder in 1128 these three ladies together with Rājalakṣmī, the daughter of Garga-candra, became *satī*. Kalhaṇa[2] relates how "the people, benumbed by the fear of a hostile attack and by the sudden hard frost, were not able to conduct Sussala's four queens to the distant burning ground. They therefore burned their bodies in haste near [the Vihāra of] Skandabhavana which was not far from the palace."

The death of his enemy did not in any way further Bhikṣācara's cause. In Sussala's son and successor Jaya-siṁha (A.D. 1128-1154-5) he found a no less formidable adversary. Defeated at Dāmodara, he had to leave the country. Soma-pāla of Rājapurī concluded a treaty with the new ruler of Kaśmīr and refused the pretender a further refuge in his territory. This faithless conduct induces the chronicler[3] to utter the following invective, which no doubt is the echo of a popular adage: "Even the gods have no pity in Trigarta, no morals in Campā, no generosity in the Madra-land, and no good-will in Darvābhisāra."

Death of Bhikṣācara.

The only chief who to the very last seems to have upheld Bhikṣācara's cause was his father-in-law, the Ṭhakkura Deṅga-pāla. His support, however, did not save him from ruin and in the summer of 1130 the ill-fated grandson of Harṣa was treacherously slain, by Jaya-

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[1] *Rājat.* VIII, 1083. Dr. Stein in his translation renders the *dvandva* compound *Udayabrahmajajjalau* as "Udaya and Brahmajajjala." I feel more inclined to take the names to be Udaya-brahman (for Udaya-varman) and Jajjala. In the Chambā copper-plates of the Muhammadan period *-brahman* is very often substituted for *-varman*. The feminine form of the name Jajjala on *ā* occurs *Rājat.* VIII, 1444. See beneath p. 108. It is borne by a Vallāpura princess. In his above-quoted letter Dr. Stein says: "If there is an Udaya-[varman] in the Chambā records, the division of Udayabrahma-Jajjalau is, of course, to be accepted as the only possible one."

[2] *Rājat.* VIII, 1440-1444; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 113. The name *Skandabhavana* is preserved in Khand-bavan.

[3] *Rājat.* VIII, 1531; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 120. Dr. Stein remarks: "This verse probably produces a proverbial saying of Kalhaṇa's time. Rājapurī is clearly included in the judgment passed on Darvābhisāra."

simha's soldiers and his own Khaśa allies, in a fort at the foot of the mountain pass of Bāṇaśālā (modern Bānihāl).[1] With his death the war of succession came to an end. The prolonged struggle had completely broken the political power of Kaśmīr, and the weak rulers who followed Jayasimha had to use all their efforts to hold their own, instead of asserting any claims of suzerainty over the neighbouring Hill States. Thus the connection between Kaśmīr and Chambā ceased. None of the later Kaśmīr chronicles ever mentions the Hill State on the Upper Rāvī.

For the further history of Chambā we are therefore limited to local records.

Lalita-varman.

The last mentioned Chambā Rājā, Udaya-varman, as stated in the Vaṁśāvalī (śl. 85) was succeeded by his son Lalita-varman. It appears from the Sālhī inscription (No. 33) that his accession took place in 1143 or 1144 and that he still reigned in 1170. The Rāṇās of Curāh and Pāṅgī recognised him as their overlord and in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 32) which was composed by the Rājaguru Kamala-lāñchana in the 17th year of Lalita's reign, we find a stanza in which his virtues are eulogized.

Lalita-varman's successor was his son Vijaya-varman. The Vaṁśāvalī (śl. 86-88) relates of him that he subdued the Kāśmīras, Kīras and Mudgalas (*i.e.* Mughals), but, considering that the Kaśmīr chronicles do not even mention his name, the historical accuracy of Vijaya's alleged victories is open to doubt. Can it be that the Vaṁśāvalī has retained a vague remembrance of Udaya's exploits in Kaśmīr and transferred them to his grandson, whose name is so suggestive of war and victory? It further states that he granted lands to Brāhmaṇs, but up to the present no copper-plate issued by him has been recovered. The fragmentary Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34) seems to have been composed in his reign, and the Rāṇā to whom it is due was probably one of his feudatories.

Vijaya-varman.

The record of Vijaya-varman's reputed conquests is difficult to reconcile with the circumstance, that apparently towards the end of the 12th century the Rājās of Balor regained possession of Curāh. In that province two inscriptions (Nos. 31 and 35) have come to light, which are dated in the reigns of two rulers of the name of Raṇa-pāla and Ajaya-pāla. It is highly probable that both were Rājās of Balor, as their names can be traced in the Vaṁśāvalī of that State. These stones seem still to bear testimony to a struggle for the possession of Curāh, which raged between the two rival powers of the Rāvī valley in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the first half of the 11th century Trailokya-deva ruled Curāh. Then the Chambā Rājās from Soma-varman till Lalita-varman held it. Subsequently we meet again with the names of two Balauriā Rājās, but the province finally remained in the possession of Chambā.

Struggle for Curāh.

It would seem, therefore, that Amṛt Pāl of Basōhlī only revived ancient claims, when, supported by Raṇjīt Dēv of Jammū, he invaded Curāh in A.D. 1774. But the renewed contest ended in the sack of Basōhlī by Rājā Rāj Siṅgh, and shortly afterwards the ancient Balor principality became absorbed in the Jammū-Kaśmīr State.

[1] *Rājat.* VIII, 1740-1777; transl. Stein, Vol. II, pp. 136 ff.

B.—The Rāṇās of Chambā.

The term *rājānaka.*

The Rāṇās play such a prominent part in the Chambā inscriptions that they deserve special treatment. In our epigraphs they are usually indicated by the name *rājānaka*. This word is not found in the classical literature of India and seems, therefore, to be a sanskritized rather than a real Sanskrit word. Dr. Grierson[1] has suggested a connection between this word and the Prākrit title *rājaña* (i.e. *rājañña=Skr. rājanya*) which occurs on coins. To me it seems more probable that the word *rāṇā* is derived directly from *rājan*. Perhaps it is the oblique case of this word transferred to the nominative.[2] In any case, there can be little doubt that the word corresponds with the modern *rāṇā*, used either as the title of a petty chief or as a caste-name. In the former meaning it is synonymous with Sanskrit *sāmanta* and *ṭhakkura*. In one of our inscriptions (No. 32) we find the terms *rājānaka* and *sāmanta* applied to the same person. The word *ṭhakkura* occurs in the form *ṭhakura* in the Markulā image inscription (No. 48). It is not found elsewhere in the Chambā epigraphs, but in the Rājataraṅgiṇī it is used in exactly the same sense as *rājānaka*, to denote a feudatory chieftain. I may add that now-a-days the titles *rāṇā* and *ṭhākur* are employed promiscuously. A special meaning is attributed to the word *rana* (*rāṇā ?*) in Kāṅgṛā, namely that of "queen bee." The equivalent expression in Chambā is *gaṇe-rā rājā*, in which we seem to have Sanskrit *gaṇa* "a swarm."

The Rāṇās of Baijnāth.

Hitherto the *rājānakas* of the Panjāb Hills have been exclusively known from the Rājataraṅgiṇī and from the Baijnāth *praśastis*. The latter acquaint us with a baronial house which ruled for eight generations, at Kīragrāma, the modern Baijnāth, in Kāṅgṛā and owed allegiance to the Rājās of Trigarta. Their importance may be estimated from the fact that the mother of Lakṣmaṇa-candra, the Rāṇā of the time, was a daughter of Hṛdaya-candra of Trigarta. The inscription, however, does not say whether her mother was a Rāṇī. It is certainly opposed to prevailing usage that the head of the illustrious house of Trigarta should give a daughter in marriage to one of his vassals. How punctilious the Kaṭoces were in matrimonial matters, even in the expiring days of their rule, is shown by the example of Anirudh Cand, the last ruling chief of Kāṅgṛā, who abandoned his State and everything rather than acquiesce in a matrimonial alliance which he considered below the dignity of his house.[3]

"Even now," says the Baijnāth eulogy,[4] "exist such wonderful men, filled with devotion to Īśvara like that store of marvellous virtue, the Rājānaka named Lakṣmaṇa-candra, who, after performing a pilgrimage to Kedāra, that cleanses from old sin, made even this vow: 'Henceforth shall all wives of others be sisters for me.' What wonder is it that in battle he was secure from assaults by warriors of irresistible bravery, since he, a Cupid at the head of the bowmen, was not to be subdued

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[1] *J. R. A. S.* for 1907, p. 409. *Cf.* my note *J. R. A. S.* for 1908, pp. 536 ff.

[2] Professor C. C. Uhlenbeck is of opinion that *rājānaka* is derived from the accusative of *rājan*, in the same way as *bhaṭṭāraka* from the accusative *bhartāram* (Prkt. *bhaṭṭāram*). Other instances are *danta* from *da(n)t* and *pāda* from *pād*.

[3] *Kangra Gazetteer*, 1904 (Lahore, 1907), p. 38.

[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 110 f.

even by that [deity]. At present rulers, whose commands are disregarded by their opponents—because they deem them to be of small prowess—think the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of the inhabitants. Fresh youth, beautiful shape, liberality, sovereignty over a town, many flatterers [all these are his]; if nevertheless his heart avoids the wives of others, what austerity is difficult to perform after that?"

The Rāṇās in Chambā inscriptions.

Bühler rightly remarks that "the picture of the morals of the time, which these verses unfold, is certainly not a flattering one." The inscriptions of Chambā show us the ancient Rāṇās from a more favourable side. No doubt, like the knights of mediæval Europe, they regarded love and war as the great aims of life. But their love was often the devotion of the husband, and their warlike spirit was not rarely displayed in loyal service to their liege-lord. Among those endless accounts of treachery and baseness in which Kalhaṇa's chronicle abounds, it is refreshing to read of that Rājpūt from Campā, Soma-pāla, who, as his lord, king Uccala, was attacked by murderers "did not fall into disgrace, when after slaying his assailants he succumbed to their strokes."[1] Of the conjugal devotion of these warlike barons we have ample proof in those quaint fountain-slabs which they set up for the sake of the future bliss of their deceased wives. And even more clearly do we find it expressed in the solemn Sanskrit of those eulogies where, hidden under the weight of rhetorical

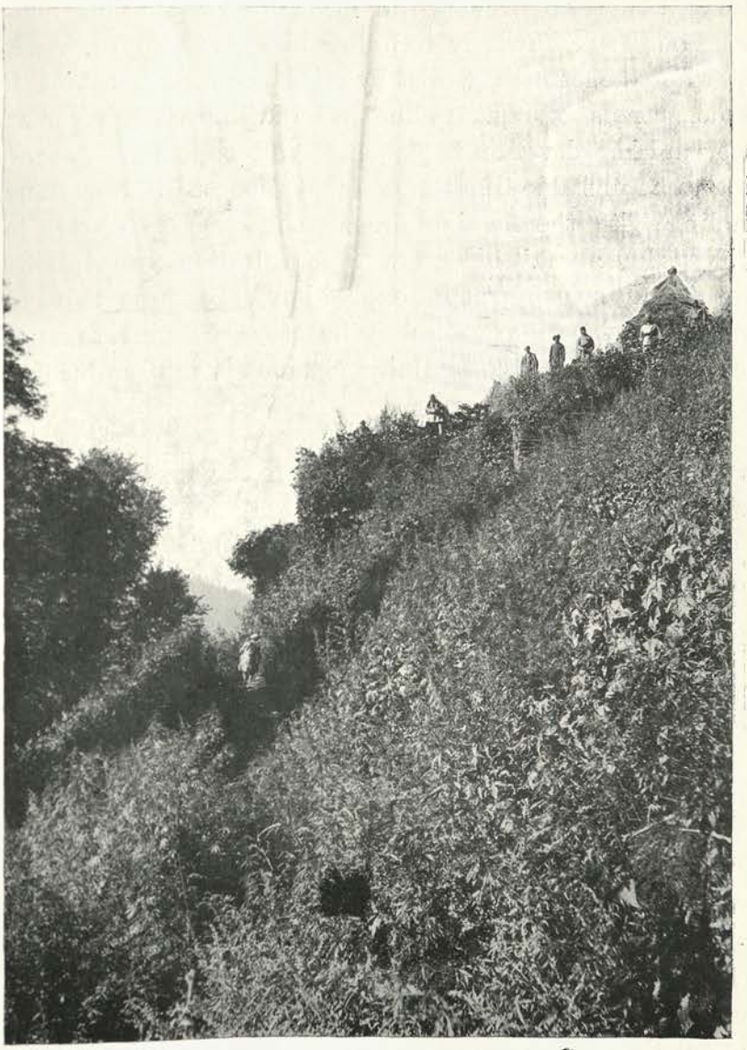

Fig. 18. Site of Rāṇā's castle at Dēvī Kōṭhī.

[1] *Rājat.* VIII 323; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 27.

ornament, we still feel the pulsation of true love. Would it be just to cast upon the hero of the Sarāhaṇ eulogy the reproach that his love for the beauteous Somaprabhā was inspired merely by her fair form, which is sung in such flowery measures in that love-song carved in stone? Did he not prove his sincerity when, "to establish a firm friendship between her and the Mountain-born goddess" he built a temple to the moon-crowned Śiva?

In the half-obliterated lines of the Mūl-Kihār stone we still read of the tears shed by the chieftain of that place and his children, when "hostile Fate separated her—his most beloved, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes, praised by all mankind—from her husband, even as the passing of the *parvan* separates the Moon-sickle from the hot-rayed Sun."

The no less sadly damaged eulogy of Dēvī Kōṭhī speaks of yet another love: a noble lady, who, at her husband's death ready to follow him on the pyre, was kept back by her two sons, and who "henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts she reduced her body to meagreness, brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Kṛṣṇa. And conceiving at every step the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves, restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, she caused a cistern to be made for the sake of the bliss of her lord." I know of no Indian inscriptions in which true human sentiment finds so eloquent an expression as in these two—alas! irreparably mutilated fountain-slabs. Nor would it be easy to point to another group of epigraphical records in which the feminine element is so prominent as in those of Chambā.

The inscriptions of Chambā State throw much light on the position formerly held by the barons of the Hills. They show that in the Highlands of the Panjāb Rāṇās once existed in considerable number. The ruins of their strongholds are pointed out up to the present day; and still clearer evidence of their former importance is afforded by those huge carved slabs, frequently inscribed, which they erected over cisterns constructed for the heavenly bliss of deceased relatives. Such inscriptions usually contain the name and sometimes the pedigree of the local Rāṇā to whose piety they are due.

Traditions and legends.

Numerous are the traditions still current in Chambā regarding those Rāṇās, of which the salient point is their spirit of independence and their mutual feuds. It is said that, when Sāhilla swept down the Rāvī valley, he found a Rāṇā of the name of Ralha settled on the top of Bannu Hill overlooking the site which he had selected for his new capital. The Rāṇā, when called into the presence of the Rājā, humbly tendered his submission; but as soon as he had returned to his castle, he assumed an attitude of defiance. It was then found out that it was the influence of the soil which caused him thus to change his mood. For when at the next *darbār* a lump of earth from his own ground was concealed under the carpet on which the Rāṇā was seated, his

speech became as haughty and insolent as if he were within the walls of his own castle.

Another legend is associated with the neighbouring hamlets of Bāhṇotā and Sīyā in Lōh-Ṭikrī, where two of our fountain inscriptions came to light. Each of those places, so tradition says, was once the seat of a Rāṇā. The more powerful of the two used to vex his weaker neighbour, until the latter, weary of continuous humiliation, called in a third Rāṇā who promised to come to his assistance in the hour of danger, as soon as he should sound his horn. It was not long until the call for help was made, but when the third Rāṇā hastened to the rescue of his oppressed friend, he found that the latter had sounded the horn without any need, merely to test the trustworthiness of his new ally. It is hardly necessary to add that, when again the signal was given—this time not without cause—the suspicious weakling waited in vain for the protection of his patron and had to submit to any indignity his oppressor chose to inflict on him. The story is only an adaptation of the well-known tale of the shepherd boy and the wolf, but it shows that the ancient Rāṇās still live in the memory of the mountaineers as contentious and quarrelsome fellows, fighting and oppressing each other, as long as they had no common enemy to face.

Independent Rāṇās.

There is a widespread tradition[1] in the Alpine Panjāb that at a remote time the Rāṇās were independent and held sovereign sway over their baronies, although these, in most cases, do not seem to have extended beyond a few villages. This tradition is to a certain extent supported by the negative evidence of the Svāiṁ image inscription (No. 12), the earliest document in which the term *rājānaka* occurs. It is incised on the base of a stone image of Dēvī, and records that this object was made by order of Rājānaka Bhogaṭa, the son of Somaṭa, born in the district of Kiṣkindha. The inscription is not dated; but, judging from the characters, it must belong to the eighth or ninth century.

The earliest Śāradā inscription of Chambā, the *praśasti* of Sarāhaṇ (No. 13), which may be attributed to the ninth or tenth century, appears also to be the record of a Rāṇā, though he is not designated by the title of *rājānaka*. Neither here nor in the Svāiṁ inscription is mention made of an overlord, whereas the Rāṇās of the eleventh and twelfth centuries invariably date their inscriptions in the reign of the ruling Rājā. From this circumstance we may perhaps conclude that Bhogaṭa of Kiṣkindha and Sātyaki of Sarāhaṇ were independent chieftains. This is the more probable, as they must have lived at a time previous to the founding of Chambā. On the other hand, we find a feudatory chief of the name of Aṣāḍha as early as the reign of Meru-varman whom he acknowledged as his liege-lord. In his inscription (No. 9) he calls himself *sāmanta* which, as we saw, is a term synonymous with *rājānaka*.

[1] Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 60 ff.; Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 130.

It is indeed highly improbable that the whole of the Panjāb Hills were at any time ruled by Rānās. "Without a lord paramount," Sir J. B. Lyall rightly observes, "and with no bond of confederacy, such diminutive States could never have existed side by side for any length of time. It is pretty certain, therefore, that with short intervals of complete independence in periods of confusion, they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some superior power." We know from literary sources that the States of Trigarta, Kulūta and Kaśmīr existed and were ruled by Rājās in the earliest period of which we possess cognizance. At the same time the more remote and inaccessible valleys may have been held by more or less independent Rāṇās. The measure of their ascendancy, no doubt, depended largely on the influence which neighbouring Rājās could exercise. In the Candrabhāgā valley they remained in power until comparatively recent times. The history of nearly every Hill State of the Panjāb tells of a struggle between the Rājā and the Rāṇās,[1] which curiously recalls the contests of the monarchs of mediæval Europe with their powerful vassals.

It is evident from our inscriptions that in the 12th century the Rāṇās of Curāh and Pāṅgī acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rājās of Chambā. Not only are their inscriptions dated from the year of accession of the ruling Rājā, but in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 32) it is stated that the local Rāṇā, Nāga-pāla, received from Lalita-varman the title of *rājānaka*.[2] It is clear, therefore, that in this passage there is a question of the investiture of a vassal by his overlord.

Rāṇās as State officials.

The prominent position occupied by the Rāṇās in the 11th and 12th centuries is obvious from the copper-plate grants, where we find them mentioned immediately after the Rājās and at the head of all other State officials. In the charter of Soma-varman (No. 24) two *rājānakas*, Rīhila and Kāhila by name, figure as Prime-Minister (Skr. *mahāmātya*) and Great-Recordkeeper (Skr. *mahākṣapaṭalika*). It thus appears that the rulers of Chambā, like the contemporaneous princes in Europe, sought to attach the feudal lords to their court, and from turbulent chieftains converted them into assiduous officials.

This step led to a further development. It appears from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that in Kaśmīr the title *rājānaka* came to be given to high officials as a purely honorary distinction. Thus we read that Queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1-1003) called her favourite Nara-vāhana into the council of ministers and conferred on him the title of *rājānaka*.[3] This practice apparently had become so common that in Kalhaṇa's days the term was regarded as almost synonymous with "minister." This is evident from the following passage, in which the chronicler says of king Parvagupta: "Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of Rājā and Rājānaka."[4]

[1] *Cf.* Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, pp. 631 ff.

[2] I must note that the word *rājānaka* is due to a restoration.

[3] *Rājat.* VI, 261; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 256.

[4] *Rājat.* VI, 117; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 244.

Modern survival of name.

The old feudatory Rāṇās of the Panjāb Highlands belonged naturally to the warrior caste. On the Chambā fountain slabs we see them rudely portrayed as knights on horseback, armed with

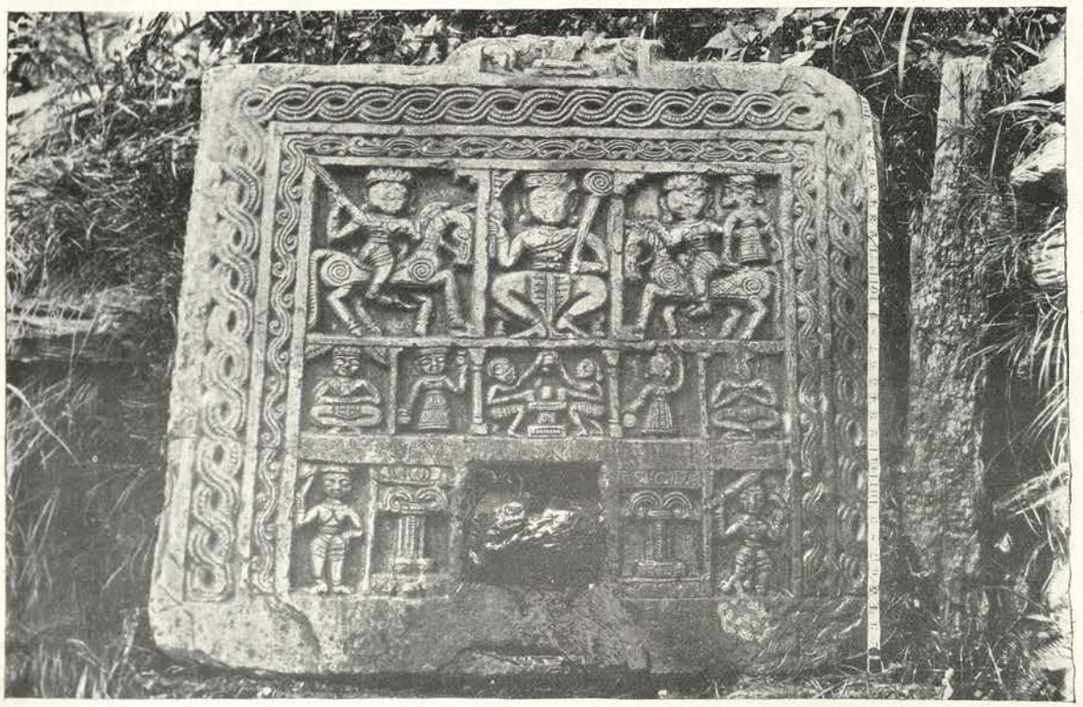

Fig. 19. Fountain-stone of Bharāṛa (Lōh-Ṭikrī *parganā*.)

sword and shield. But the high officials on whom the honorary title of *rājānaka* was conferred were very often Brāhmaṇs, and thus the word has survived in Kaśmīr in the form *rāzdān* as a Brahmanical family name. "It was borne," Dr. Stein writes, "by Rājānaka Ratnākara, the author of the Harivijaya (9th century) and by many Kaśmirian authors of note enumerated in the *Vaṁśa-praśasti* which Ānanda Rājānaka (17th century) had appended to his commentary on the *Naiṣadhacarita*." It may, however, be questioned whether Ratnākara bore the title *rājānaka* in his own time and whether, at so early a date, the use of the term was extended to Brahmanical officials.

It is curious that in the later Kaśmīr chronicles the same title is used to designate Muhammadan officers of rank. This accounts for the use of the word Rāṇ[i] in Kaśmīr as a Muhammadan *krām* name, which, as Dr. Stein observes, corresponds exactly to *Rāzdān* as a family name of Brāhmaṇs.

I have noted above the frequent reference to *rājānakas* in the Chambā inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period. It is remarkable that in the numerous later inscriptions found in the State they are never mentioned. There is no record to show in what manner the Rāṇās lost their position and power. We can only surmise that those numerous and warlike vassals—not less turbulent probably than the Ḍāmaras of Kaśmīr—constituted a constant danger to the supreme position of the Rājā. It must, therefore, have been his policy to curtail their power, and this

end he may have attained partly by main force. But from what has been remarked above it appears that, on the whole, the policy of the Rājās was the same as that followed by the kings of France in reducing their powerful barons: the vassals were converted into courtiers. It is indeed curious how much the history of the word *Rāṇā* is analogous to that of the titles of nobility in Europe.

Rāṇā as caste-name.

The word *rāṇā* has finally become a caste-name, and is now used as such in Chambā and Kāṅgṛā. Regarding the *Rāṇās* of Kāṅgṛā, I quote the following from Mr. Barnes' Settlement Report[1]: "Another class of Rājpūts who enjoy great distinction in the hills are the descendants of ancient petty chiefs or *Rāṇās*, whose title and tenure is said to have preceded that of the *Rājās* themselves. These petty chiefs have long since been dispossessed, and their holdings absorbed in the larger principalities. Still the name of *Rāṇā* is retained, and their alliance is eagerly desired by the Miāns.[2] The principal families are those of Chari, Giro, Kanhiāra, Pathiār, Habrol, Sumbar, Dadwāl, and other localities. Besides these, the following races occupy a high rank: the Indauria, Malhotar, Salāria, Harchandar, Ludhiārach, Patiāl, Chib, Jarāl, Bhugālia,[3] and others which it would be tedious to record. All these tribes affect most of the customs of Rājpūts. They select secluded spots for their dwellings, immure their women, are very particular with whom they marry or betroth in marriage, but have generally taken to agriculture. In this particular consists their chief distinction from the Miāns."

The Rāṇā of Trilōknāth.

In Chambā the position of the ordinary Rāṇās is not different from that of the agricultural castes with which they intermarry. At the last Census 94 males and 84 females were returned under that caste-name. There also exist, however, in Chambā a few Rāṇās in the original sense of the word, who still hold the position of their ancestors, the *rājānakas* of the inscriptions. Chief among them is the Rāṇā of Trilōknāth whose barony extends over a large portion of Chambā-Lahul. It comprises the villages of Tunde, Kisori, Hinsā, Shokoli, Maiyār, Salgrām and part of Shyor and Pōrthī. The tradition of his family is that they came originally from Jammū and settled at the place now known as Trilōknāth, before the celebrated idol of that name was established there. One of their ancestors was called Hamīr Bardhāīṁ, whose deeds are sung in the local dialect. He is said to have repelled the attack of a Kuḷū Rājā, who tried to carry off the image of Trilōknāth. Subsequently, invited to a meal by his opponent, he was treacherously murdered, after he had laid down his weapons. At the annual *mēlā* on the last day of Sāvaṇ (Śrāvaṇa), in which

[1] G. C. Barnes, *Settlement Report of the Kangra District*, 270. Cf. *Kangra Gazetteer* for 1883-4, Vol. I, p. 88, and for 1904, (Lahore 1907), p. 74.

[2] *Miān, i.e., Miyān*, is the title given to the Rājpūts of the Panjāb Hills. It dates apparently back to the time when the sons of hill chiefs used to stay at the Mughal Court, and was, so it seems, originally applied to them exclusively. It has gradually become a caste-name for Hill Rājpūts in general. It occurs in the form *Mie* on some of the copper-plate grants of Rājā Balabhadra as title of his son and heir-apparent Janārdan (No. XLVII of A.D. 1613, line 12, and No. LIV of A.D. 1619, line 11).

[3] Dr. Hutchison informs me that these are not *Rāṇā* families. Some of them as Malhotar and Bhugālia (Bangahālia) are really Miāns. The Jarāl are the old Rājās of Rājaurī (Rājapurī) and the Cib are Rājpūts from Cilān—the country in the outer hills between the Cināb and the Jēhlam. The Rāṇās of Paṭhyār are mentioned in documents of the 17th and 18th centuries in the Chambā archives. The last of them, Silā Cand by name, died in the reign of Rājā Umēd Siṅgh (1748-1764).

the worship of Avalokiteśvara, the Great Compassionate, is strangely blended with bloody sacrifices of an aboriginal type, the Rāṇā takes the leading part. Though professedly a Hindū, he acts as manager of the famous Buddhist shrine, and appoints the lāmā *pūjārī*. The eldest son of the Trilōknāth Rāṇā is addressed as *Ṭīkā*.

Fig. 20. The Rāṇās of Ulānsā, Gurōlā and Svāī.

Rāṇās of Ulānsā, Gurōḷā and Svāī.

On the left bank of the Rāvī near its junction with the Buḍhal there are three small baronies held by the Rāṇās of Ulānsā, Gurōḷā and Svāī.[1] According to local tradition, these three *raṇhums* were originally one fief, which was granted to the common ancestor of the present Rāṇās by Rājā Mūṣ Brahmā on his return from Kuḷū. The Ulānsā barony comprises 100 *lāṛhī* or 376 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 500. The area of the two smaller *jāgīrs* of Gurōḷā and Svāī is 274 and 235 acres respectively. As the present Rāṇā of Gurōḷā, Sāhib Siṅgh, who is an old man of 70 years of age, has no heir to succeed him, his *jāgīr* will probably lapse on his demise. The same has already happened to the barony of Raṇhum Kōṭhī which adjoined Ulānsā on the other side and has now become a *pargaṇā*. Thus we see, how even those few surviving baronies graduallly disappear. As now-a-days no new Rāṇās are created, there is a likelihood that in Chambā also the ruling Rāṇās will finally merge into the agricultural population, as has already happened in the neighbouring Kāṅgṛā valley. At Sām(b)rā in the Rāvī valley and at Maṛgrām in Lahul there are two more Rāṇās who still hold small *jāgīrs*.

Until recently, as in the olden days, the chief duty of these Rāṇās was to render military service in the Rājā's bodyguard. Tradition holds that a Rāṇā of

[1] On the subjoined photograph (fig. 20) Judhbīr Siṅgh, the young Rāṇā of Ulānsā, stands in the centre. To his left is the old Rāṇā of Gurōḷā and to his right Cēt Siṅgh, the Rāṇā of Svāī.

[2] Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 101.

Ulānsā fell at Nērtī together with his liege-lord Rājā Rāj Siṅgh (7th Hāṛ *saṁvat* 1850). Rājā Shyām Siṅgh released the Rāṇās from their obligation of military service and converted it into a tribute in money of Rs. 100 annually in the case of Ulānsā and Rs. 70 for Svāī. The Rāṇā of Gurōḷā has been acquitted of any payment presumably on account of his age.

The chief privilege of the Rāṇās is the freedom from forced labour (*bēgār*) or any kind of State service, except personal attendance on the Rājā, if he is in their neighbourhood or on special occasions in the capital. When any of the ruling Rāṇās dies, his heir has to come to Chambā to obtain a charter (*paṭṭā*) from the Rājā, and in the case of the Trilōknāth Rāṇā, a small robe of honour (*khil'at*) is given. On the accession of a new Rājā, the Rāṇā of Trilōknāth comes to Chambā personally to tender his allegiance, and to present a tribute consisting of a number of Lahulī hill ponies.

Fig. 21. Rāṇā family at Sālhī (Pāṅgī).

Agricultural Rāṇās.

Besides those six families of feudal Rāṇās, there are still at various places in the State descendants of the ancient Rāṇās who are in no way distinguishable from ordinary agriculturists, except by their name. That these agricultural Rāṇās are descended from the Rājānakas of our inscriptions cannot reasonably be doubted. It is proved by the huge fountain slab of Sālhī in Pāṅgī (No. 33) erected by Rājānaka Ludra-pāla, as stated in the inscription. The adjoining house is still inhabited by a family of Rāṇās, descendants of the founder, but now reduced to the humble state of ordinary peasants. When, some years ago, the stone was thrown down by an avalanche, the head of the family took care to re-erect it as being the embodiment of the departed glory of his house.

Other villages in which agricultural Rāṇās are known to live are Dhundhī, Tīsā, Gehrā (Pyuhr *pargaṇā*), Agyāṛī (Rājnagar), Lōh-Ṭikrī, Berā, Sai, Himgiri, Ranhuṁ Kōṭhī and Kilāṛ and Sāc in Pāṅgī. The Agyāṛī Rāṇā, though no longer a *jāgīrdār*, still enjoys freedom from forced labour. It is interesting to note that both at Dhundhī and Tīsā fountain slabs have been found which point to the former existence of Rājānakas at those two places.

The social status of the Rāṇās, both feudal and agricultural, can be best estimated from their relation to other castes in matrimonial matters. It may be summarized as follows: The Miāṇ Rājpūts, especially the smaller ones, take brides from the feudal Rāṇās. The latter, in their turn, intermarry with their own kind, but take also girls in marriage from the Ṭhākurs and the Rāṭhīs, who are the main agricultural caste of Chambā. The non-feudal or agricultural Rāṇās intermarry either with their caste-fellows or with the Ṭhākurs and the Rāṭhīs.

Rāṇās in British Lahul.

Finally, I wish here to insert a note on the existence of Rāṇās in British Lahul for which I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Francke. "In the Tibetan writings," Mr. Francke says, "I have met the word only once, namely, in the Tinan Chronicle discovered by Miss J. E. Duncan in 1907. There the ancestor of the Princes of Tinan, who came from Lcags-mkhar ("Iron castle") in Guge, is called "Rana Pala." *Pala* is certainly a hinduized form of the common Tibetan name *dpal*. The family obtained the title *Rana* either from the Rājā of Kuḷū or from Chambā. Popular tradition asserts that at one time the Rājā of Chambā ruled a considerable portion of Lahul. Perhaps the fountain-slabs of Lahul date back to that period. The tradition of Gus refers to the days when a Rāṇā dependent on Chambā resided at that place. It is even said that there existed a copper-plate, issued by a Chambā Rājā which was carried off by the Rājā of Kuḷu (possibly Bidhi or Mān Siṅgh) at the conquest of Lahul. The fountain of Gus is entirely enclosed in ancient stone slabs. There are also traditions which relate to the Rāṇās of Gus.[1] Descendants of these Rāṇās live at Gus up to the present day, where they form a "father-and-brother-(*pha-spun*)hood," which perhaps corresponds to the castes in India."

It is curious that on a temple flag from Ladak, now in the Lahore Museum, we find the central figure—a three-headed, six-armed, green-coloured deity of terrific appearance—marked by an inscription as *Rānā Heruga*. He is a Tantric deity, about whom little is known. On the picture he is surrounded by eight animal-headed witches which are labelled: *Lho-bya-gre* ("the southern Eagle"), *Zla-ba* ("Moon"), *Zhi-ba* ("Peace"), *Lho-rdor-phag* ("the southern She-boar of the Thunderbolt"), *Lha-chen* ("Great-God"), *Spaṅkhu-śvan* ("Wolf-dog"), *Sgo-sruṅ* (? "Door-keeper") and *Nor-sruṅ* ("Keeper of riches").

[1] Cf. Francke, *Historische und mythologische Erinnerungen der Lahouler* (blue-print in 40 copies). Nos. 11 and 13.

Cf. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 106.

C.—State officials.

Lists of officials in inscriptions.

I now wish to consider what information can be derived from our records regarding the State officials of ancient Chambā. In three of the copper-plates published in the present volume (Nos. 15, 25 and 26) we meet with a passage in which the donor addresses his officers, who are enumerated in a list of considerable length. The lists in Nos. 25 (ll. 13-15) and 26 (ll. 7-10) are identical, except for some slight difference in the order of the names. No. 26 adds *rājasthānīya* which perhaps has been left out from No. 25 by a clerical error. No. 25 has twenty-two and No. 26 twenty-three titles including the names of the four castes *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya* and *śūdra*, which in No. 25 are found after *rājāmātya* and in No. 26 at the end of the list. It should be noticed that I have taken *parikara-sanniyuktaka-viniyuktaka* as the designation of one class of officials, though possibly the compound contains two or three different names. The list of Vidagdha's title-deed (ll. 6-9) omits the four castes, but has seventeen additional titles, making a total of thirty-six. Instead of *parikara-sanniyuktaka-viniyuktaka* we find simply *viniyuktaka*, from which it may perhaps be inferred that in reality by the former expression one class of officials is indicated.

Lists of officials like the present occur in inscriptions from different parts of India. A few instances are found in the epigraphical records of the Gupta period. One of the earliest examples is the Kāvī copper-plate grant (l. 8) of the Gurjara king, Jaya-bhaṭa, who lived in the beginning of the 5th century.[1] It contains only the following five titles: *rājan, sāmanta, bhogika, viṣayapati* and *rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattara*, which terms Bühler renders: king, feudal chief, governor of a province, governor of a *zila* and chief of a *taluqa* and a village. Another instance is the Bihār pillar inscription (ll. 27-30) of Skanda-gupta (A.D. 455-c. 480), in which unfortunately the passage in question is very fragmentary. About a century later in date is the Māliyā copper-plate (ll. 20-21) of Dhara-sena II and of the Gupta year 252 (A.D. 571-2), which contains a small list of only ten titles. A fuller list, partly identical with those in the Chambā copper-plates, occurs in the Dēō Baraṇārk pillar inscription (ll. 7-10) of Jīvita-gupta II who reigned in the beginning of the 8th century of our era. But here also the stone is badly damaged, so that several of the names are lost.[2] Of special interest are the Āmgāchī (ll. 27-31) and Bhāgalpur (ll. 30-36) copper-plates issued by Vigraha-pāla and his son Nārāyaṇa-pāla respectively, who both belonged to the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and lived about A.D. 1000.[3] Professor Kielhorn has already drawn attention to the similarity of the lists of officials in those two documents and those in the Chambā title-deeds.

It is a question of primary import whether the lists reflect the actual state of affairs in ancient Chambā, or whether the authors of the title-deeds simply copied certain fixed forms in use all over India, without any reference to local circumstances. The agreement between the Chambā lists and those of the Pāla rulers of Bengal points to the latter alternative. It is, indeed, very doubtful whether all the officials enumerated in our documents actually existed in Chambā. We find among them

[1] Cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V, pp. 114 f.

[2] Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* No. 12, pp. 50 and 52; No. 38, pp. 166 and 169 f.; No. 46, pp. 216 and 217 f.

[3] Cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 167, and Vol. XV, p. 306.

the *viṣaya-pati*, the head of a *viṣaya* or district, but the term *viṣaya*, though known in Kaśmīr, is not used in the Chambā records, which invariably designate a district or *pargaṇā* by the name of *maṇḍala*. The head of a *pargaṇā*, as we shall presently see, is now-a-days called *cāṛ* which undoubtedly is the *cāṭa* of the copper-plates. In Vidagdha's plate we also find mention of "those concerned with elephants, horses, camels and the forces" (*hastyaśvoṣṭrabala-vyāpṛtaka*). The purport of this expression will be discussed subsequently. Here I wish only to point out that a "superintendent of camels" would have an extremely easy task in Chambā, considering that such animals are unknown there. "Ces Montagnes," says Bernier[1] with regard to Kaśmīr, "sont trop rudes et trop fâcheuses pour leurs longues et roides jambes; il faut que les Portes-faix supléent aux Chameaux." This remark holds equally good, if applied to the mountains of Chambā.

Although, therefore, our conclusion must be that these lists cannot be regarded as authentic for ancient Chambā, we may safely assume that they are based on actual conditions in India generally during the 10th and 11th centuries. On that account they do not lose in interest. Unfortunately the individual functions of the officials named are by no means clear, as will be seen from the following detailed discussion. I shall follow the order of the titles as found in Vidagdha's grant, as it is the earliest and fullest of the three.

Rājā.

All three grants, like the Bhāgalpur plate, start with the names *rājā*, *rājānaka*, *rājaputra* and *rājāmātya*. In No. 25 the two last-mentioned terms are reversed. There can be little doubt that among the vassals of the rulers of Chambā there were none who could rightly claim the title *rājā*. The title *rājādhirāja*, literally "king of kings," which they adopt themselves in their charters, is indiscriminately used by any independent chief. The Muhammadan historians usually designate the chiefs of the Panjāb hill states by the name *zamīndār*. The title of *rājā* was conferred on them by the Mughal emperors as a personal distinction. Thus we read in the *Bādshāh Nāmah* that Pṛthvī Cand (or Singh) of Chambā received the title of *rājā* from Shāh Jahān in December 1641.

Rājānaka.

The term *rājānaka* has been discussed in the previous section. It is the title by which the vassals of the Rājās of Chambā designate themselves in their inscriptions. It corresponds to modern *rāṇā*. It will be noticed that *rājānaka* as well as the following *rājaputra* is a title of nobility or a class-name and not the designation of an official. But the fact that the members of those noble classes were commonly entrusted with important State offices explains their being mentioned in the beginning of the list. It is interesting that in the Kāvī copper-plate quoted above the word *rājā* is immediately followed by *sāmanta* which is synonymous with *rājānaka*.

Rājaputra.

As to the word *rājaputra*, literally "a king's son, a prince," Dr. Fleet[2] is of opinion that in such passages as the present it has some technical official meaning. He adduces Marāṭhī *rāut* or *rāūt*, and Gujarātī *rāvat* "a horse soldier, a trooper" which he derives from Skr.

[1] *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1699), Vol. II, p. 266.

[2] *Gupta Inscr.* p. 218, n. 1.

rājaputra and believes to indicate its technical meaning. But on account of its connection with *rājānaka* and for the reason stated above I see no necessity to assign it here any other than its ordinary meaning. It is, however, possible that from its original sense of "the son or near relative of a *rājā*" it had already like the modern *rājpūt*, come to be used of the nobility in general.

Rājāmātya.

The word *rājāmātya* means "a minister or councillor (*amātya*) attached to the rājā," the second member of the compound being synonymous with *saciva* and *mantrin* (from *mantra* "counsel, advice") which has become the Chinese *mandarin*. One of the two officials mentioned by name at the end of Soma-varman's plate (No. 24) has the designation of *mahāmātya* which we may render by "prime minister" or "chief councillor." His office, no doubt, corresponds with that of the *wazīr* of the Muhammadan period.

Rājasthānīya.

In Vidagdha's grant the word *rājāmātya* is followed by *rājasthānīya*. It is also found in No. 26, but here the four caste-names have rather inappropriately been inserted between the two. The term *rājasthānīya* is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, but they give no clue to the exact meaning of the word.[1] It occurs also in the list of officials in the Bhāgalpur grant.[2] We know from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that an office of the name of *rājasthāna* or *rājasthānādhikāra* existed in Kaśmīr. It was held by Alaṁkāra, the brother of the poet Maṅkha, in the reign of Jaya-siṁha. Dr. Stein remarks that it was connected with the administration of justice and that we may assume that its holder discharged duties equivalent to those of Chief Justice.[3]

Pramātar.

After *rājasthānīya* the list in Vidagdha's title-deed contains nine terms not found in the two other plates. The first is *pramātar* which apparently does not occur in the Gupta inscriptions edited by Dr. Fleet or in the charters of the Pāla kings. But at the end of the Valabhi copper-plates of Dhruva-sena III (l. 49) of the Gupta year 334 (A.D. 653-4) we find a *pramātar* Śrī-Nāga mentioned as the *dūta* of the grant.[4] We know also that an official of that name existed in Kaśmīr, for Rāma, the poet of the Baijnāth eulogies (II. vs. 37), mentions that his father, Bhṛṅgaka, was a *pramātar* of the king of that country.[5] These references do not help us to decide on the nature of his office. Here Śrīvara comes to our assistance. The chronicler, after relating how Sulṭān Zainu-l-ʿābidīn banished his eldest son Ādam Khāṇ and favoured the younger one, remarks:[6]

अग्रजानुजयो राजपुत्रयोः सुखदुःखयोः ।
विपर्ययं व्यधाद्वेधाः प्रमातेव विभागिनोः ॥

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[1] *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 157, n. 1, 170 and 218.

[2] The Bhāgalpur plate has *rājasthānīyoparika* and the Āmgāchī plate *rājasthānoparika*.

[3] *Rājat.* (transl. Stein) Vol. I., p. 316 n. On the functions of a Chief Justice cf. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* pp. 183 f.

[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 88 and 92.

[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 115 and 118.

[6] Śrīvara, *Rājat.* I. 70.

"Fate reversed the natural order of the eldest and younger son of the king, like a *pramātar* [would do] with two persons having share in an inheritance."

From this passage it is plain that the *pramātar* is an officer entrusted with the administration of justice. This agrees with the meaning of the word in literature ("a person fit to perceive or judge" from root *mā-*) and accounts for its place in the list immediately after *rājasthānīya*.

Sarobhaṅga.

The next term *sarobhaṅga* I cannot explain. It does not seem to occur either in inscriptions or literature.

Kumārāmātya.

The office of *kumārāmātya* is well known from the Gupta inscriptions. Whereas the word *rājāmātya*, as noticed above, means "councillor of the king," the term *kumārāmātya* may be rendered by "councillor of the crown prince." It seems that in the days of the Imperial Guptas there existed, side by side with the State-council, a special council to advise the heir-apparent who usually took part in the State affairs as co-regent (Skr. *Yuvarāja*). The office of *kumārāmātya* appears to have existed throughout the Gupta epoch. Its earliest mention I find in the famous Allahābād pillar inscription (l. 32) of Samudra-gupta, in which the title, combined with that of *sāṁdhivigrahika* ("minister of foreign affairs") and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* ("prefect of police"), is borne by Hari-ṣena, the author of the *praśasti*.[1] It is also found in the lists of officials in the Māliyā copper-plate and on the Dēō-Baraṇārk pillar, referred to above.

Among the inscribed clay sealings of the early Gupta period discovered by Dr. Bloch at Basāṛh, the site of ancient Vaiśālī, there are several which contain the title *kumārāmātya*.[2] The fullest legend runs: *Śrī-Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya* which I propose to translate: "[Seal] of the Court (or Office) of the Prince's Councillor(s) [attached] to His Highness, the illustrious the lord Heir-Apparent." I may also note an inscribed stone *liṅga*, which came to light at Karamḍāṇḍe in the Faizābād district of the United Provinces in 1908 and is now placed in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription, which is dated in the Gupta year 117 (A.D. 436), mentions a Pṛthivī-ṣena who was *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya* and afterwards general (*mahābalādhikṛta*) under Kumāra-gupta I. As his father Śikhara-svāmin is stated to have been *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya* under Candra-gupta II, we may conclude that the office in question was hereditary.

Uparika.

The term *uparika* is also frequently met with in the epigraphs of the Gupta period, but there is nothing to indicate its meaning. In the Bihār pillar inscription it stands immediately before *kumārāmātya*, so that perhaps we may assume some connection between the two offices. Among the Basāṛh sealings is one with the following legend *Tīrabhukty-uparik-ādhikaraṇasya* "[Seal] of the Court (or Office) of the Uparika(s) of Tirabhukti (*i.e.* Tirhut)." In the Bhāgalpur grant the word *uparika* follows *rājasthānīya*.

[1] *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 10 and 16.
A. R. A. S. for 1903-04, pp. 103 and 107.

Viṣayapati.

The next word *viṣayapati*, as already noted, means "head of a district (*viṣaya*)" and occurs on the Kāvī copper-plate. It is also found in the Indor copper-plate grant (l. 4) of Skanda-gupta, dated in the Gupta year 146 (A.D. 465-6).[1] Among the inscriptions discovered by Mr. F. O. Oertel at Sārnāth in 1904-5 there is one in Gupta characters of the 5th century, recording the donation of a Buddhist image by a *viṣayapati* of the name of Suyātra.[2] We have remarked above, that, as the term *viṣaya* is not met with in the inscriptions of Chambā, there is good reason to doubt whether the office of *viṣayapati* was known in that State.

Nihelapati.

In the two grants of the Pāla kings referred to we find *viṣayapati* followed by *grāmapati* "head of a village" and in the Kāvī inscription by *rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattara* "chief of a *taluqa* and village" according to Bühler's rendering. In Vidagdha's copper-plate the word next to *viṣayapati* is *nihelapati* which is unknown in Sanskrit literature. On the analogy of the above-mentioned documents we may perhaps assume that a *nihela* is a sub-division of a *viṣaya* and a *nihelapati* the officer in charge of such a sub-division. I have little doubt that this term is identical with *nihilapati*, found in the Nirmaṇḍ copper-plate as the designation of the *dūta* of the grant.[3] As the word apparently does not occur anywhere else, it seems that the office it denotes was peculiar to the Panjāb Hills.

Kṣatrapa.

It may seem strange to find among Vidagdha's officials the *kṣatrapa* or satrap. But we may safely assume that this word is due to a clerical error and has to be read *kṣetrapa*. This, at least, is the form found in both the Āmgāchī and Bhāgalpur grants where it stands between *gaulmika* and *prāntapāla*. The literal meaning of *kṣetrapa* is "protector of the fields." The analogous French term *garde-champêtre* would suggest a police officer.

Prāntapāla.

In our Chambā copper-plate also the word *kṣatrapa*, or rather *kṣetrapa*, is immediately followed by *prāntapāla*. Neither of the two terms occurs, as far as I know, in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. The etymological meaning of the latter term would be "a frontier guard"—the word *prānta* being used in the sense of "a limit"—but it is impossible to decide whether the proposed rendering is applicable to our documents.

Hastyaśvoṣṭra-bala-vyāpṛtaka.

The compound *hastyaśvoṣṭrabala-vyāpṛtaka* which, as noted above, means "those occupied with elephants, horses, camels, and the forces" may, at first sight, seem a strange element in a list of State dignitaries. To understand the expression, it should be remembered that the army of ancient India comprised four arms—elephant-riders, horsemen, war-chariots and foot—and on that account was indicated as *caturaṅga* "four-membered."[4] It is well-known that the game of chess—in reality a war game—

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[1] *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 70 f.

[2] *A. R. A. S.* for 1904-05, p. 81.

[3] *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 289 and 291.

[4] हस्त्यश्वरथपदातिरूपं सैन्यम् *Śabdakalpadruma i. v.* चतुरङ्ग. Cf. Macdonell, *The Origin and Early History of Chess. J. R. A. S.* for 1898, pp. 117 ff.

originally reflected that state of things and has preserved in India the ancient name *caturaṅga* in its Persianized form *shatrang* (Arabic *shatranj*). The chariots, which play such an important part in the Indian epics, fell into disuse, apparently before A.D. 600, as they formed no part of Harṣa's army.[1] It would seem that, to keep up the ancient tradition of a "four-membered" army, the "war-chariots" were replaced by a camel-corps. This much is certain that in the game of chess, as it is now known in India, the chariot has been replaced by the camel.[2] I have little doubt that this change is based on the actual development of the old Indian army. If so, it is evident that the compound *hastyaśvoṣṭrabala* is synonymous with *caturaṅga* "the four-membered army" in its later form, and that "the persons concerned with elephants, horses, camels and the forces" are "officers connected with the four arms of the army" or in general "all military officers."

It is interesting to note that the expression *hastyaśvoṣṭrabala-vyāpṛta* may safely be restored in line 10 of the Dēō Baraṇārk pillar inscription, where Dr. Fleet reads . . . . . *ka* . . . . *ṛṣṇi* (?) *valavyāyata*. For it will be noticed that the following compound, which is also mutilated, is undoubtedly *kiśora-vaḍavā-go-mahiṣyajādikādhyakṣa* which in the Āmgāchī and Bhāgalpur grants stands immediately after the first mentioned compound. As the Dēō Baraṇārk inscription belongs to the beginning of the 8th century, there is reason to suppose that the introduction of a corps of camel-riders in the Indian army took place in the 7th century, if not earlier.

We have just seen that the two plates of the Pāla kings also contain the expression under discussion in their lists of officials. But it deserves notice that here the word *nau* (ship) is introduced between *uṣṭra* (camel) and *bala* (infantry). For an explanation we have to turn again to the history of chess. In a treatise on this game in Raghu-nandana's *Tithitattva* we find the word "ship" (Skr. *naukā*) used as the name of the corner-piece—our "castle."[3] It is very curious that in Chambā the castle is still indicated by the name *nau*, though few of the inhabitants have ever seen a ship.[3] In the Russian game also the castle is called "ship" (*ladija*). It would, therefore, seem that in certain parts of India the ship, or rather the navy, was adopted as the fourth arm of the army as a substitute for the abolished chariot. We may assume that the choice between camel and ship depended on the geographical position of the country. In the expression used in the Āmgāchī and Bhāgalpur grants we find both introduced. Here the meaning evidently is "officers connected with the army and navy."

Dūta.

The next nine terms are identical in our three lists. The first three *dūta*, *gamāgamika* and *abhitvaramāṇa* seem all to have the same meaning—that of "messenger." The Bhāgalpur grant introduces a fourth synonymous word *praiṣaṇika*, evidently derived from *preṣaṇa* "mission." In the Dēō Baraṇārk inscription, on the contrary, we find *dūta* alone—the only one among these four terms which is found in Sanskrit

[1] V. A. Smith, *Early History*, 1904, pp. 118, 126 and 286. Cf. *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, pp. 82 f.

[2] The Hindī name of the castle is *ūṇṭ* (derived from Skr. *uṣṭra*), but in Urdū the term *rukh* is used.

[3] Cf. Sir W. Jones, *On the Indian Game of Chess*. *As. Res.* Vol. II, pp. 159 ff. T. von der Lasa, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels*. Leipzig, 1897, pp. 13 f.

literature. The exact meaning of this and the other three terms in our lists of officials is by no means clear. In the "Trial" described in the ninth act of the old Indian play "The Little Clay Cart," the Court of Justice is compared with an ocean,

"Whose waters are the king's advisers, deep
In thought; as waves and shells it seems to keep
The attorneys; and as sharks and crocodiles
It has its spies that stand in waiting files;
Its elephants and horses represent
The cruel ocean-fish on murder bent;
As if with herons of the sea, it shines
With screaming pettifoggers' numerous lines;
While in the guise of serpents, scribes are creeping
Upon its statecraft-trodden shore: the court
The likeness of an ocean still is keeping,
To which all harmful-cruel beasts resort."[1]

Here the translator, Dr. Ryder, renders *dūta* by "attorney"—I do not know on what authority. The meaning which would seem most natural in connection with a law-court would be "a beadle." But it is curious that in the passage referred to the beadle is called *śodhanaka* "cleaner," because his duty was to keep the court-room clean.

It is well-known that in connection with grants of land the word *dūta* or *dūtaka* indicates the official who carries out the king's orders—his agent or delegate. Dr. Fleet[2] remarks that "the *Dūtaka's* office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered." As the person or persons mentioned as *dūta* at the end of the grant usually are indicated as the incumbents of some high office—*e.g.* that of *mahākṣapaṭalika* or *mahāmātya*—it would seem that their function as *dūta* was only incidental. It follows that this word, when indicating a certain office-holder—as apparently it does in our lists—must have a different meaning. All we can say is that the *dūta* was one of the seven state officials, who, according to Kalhaṇa,[3] had existed in Kaśmīr up to the time of Jalauka.

Gamāgamika and abhitvaramāṇa.

As the terms *gamāgamika* and *abhitvaramāṇa* occur merely in the lists of officials discussed here, we can only state that the etymological meaning of these words would be "one who goes (*gam-*) and comes (*ā-gam-*)" and "one who hurries (*tvar-*)."

Khaśa.

Khaśa and *Kulika* are tribal names. In the two Pāla grants we find them mentioned together with the Gauḍa, Mālava, Hūṇa, Karṇāta, and Lāṭa—all non-Aryan tribes. The Khaśas—the Khakhas of modern times—are referred to in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā among the peoples of the north-eastern region in combination with the Kāśmīras, Abhisāras, Dārvas, Kīras, Kulūtas and Kaulindras.[4] That the Khaśas are rightly classed with these tribes of the Western Himālaya, is evident from the Rājataraṅgiṇī

[1] *The Little Clay Cart* (*Mṛcchakaṭikā*) transl. by A. H. Ryder, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905, p. 140.
[2] *Gupta Inscr.* p. 100 n. 3.
[3] *Rājat.* I, 119; transl. Stein Vol. I, p. 22.
[4] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* XIV, 29 ff; cf. *Ind Ant.* Vol. XXII (1893), pp. 172 and 181.

in which they play an important part. "The ethnography of the territories immediately adjoining Kaśmīr," Dr. Stein[1] remarks, "can be traced quite clearly from the notices of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. In the south and west the adjacent hill-regions were occupied by Khaśas. Their settlement extended, as shown by numerous passages of the chronicle, in a wide semicircle, from Kaṣṭavāṛ in the south-east to the Vitastā Valley in the west. The hill-states of Rājapurī and Lohara were held by Khaśa families; the dynasty of the latter territory succeeded to the rule of Kaśmīr in the eleventh century. I have shown elsewhere that the Khaśas are identical with the present Khakha tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitastā Valley below Kaśmīr, and in the neighbouring hills, belong. We have already seen that the Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hillmen."

Kulika.

Regarding the Kulikas we are not so well informed. The word *kulika* as a generic name means "kinsman" (from *kula*) and is also assigned the sense of "head of a guild." It occurs in the legends on some of the clay sealings (Nos. 5, 28, and 29) found at Basāṛh by Dr. Bloch who renders it by "merchant." I have little doubt, however, that in the documents under discussion it is, like Khaśa, the name of a tribe. It would seem that Kulait, ancient Kulikagoṣṭha, in the upper Rāvī Valley received its name from a settlement (*goṣṭha*) of Kulikas.

The mention of those tribes in a list of State officials may be explained from the part which the Khaśas played in the history of Kaśmīr. We read in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Tuṅga, the Khaśa, who, through the favour of Queen Diddā, rose from being employed as letter-carrier (*lekhahāraka*) to the rank of prime minister. The same man led an unsuccessful expedition against Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in support of Trilocana-pāla, the Shāhī king of Gandhāra. From the part played by the Khaśas in the civil wars of Kaśmīr, we may assume that their chiefs were employed as captains of mercenaries, and this would explain why they rank among the State officials in our title-deeds. Their position may be compared to that of the Scots and Swiss at the court of the Bourbons.

Śaulkika and gaulmika.

The two terms *śaulkika* and *gaulmika* are also found combined on the Bihār pillar inscription and in the Āmgāchī and Bhāgalpur copper-plate grants. Dr. Fleet proposes the conjectural rendering "Superintendent of tolls or customs (*śulka*)" and "Superintendent of woods and forests (*gulma*)." Evidently the words are *vṛddhi* derivations from *śulka* and *gulma;* but it should be noticed that the latter word occurs also in the sense of "a patrol." It is, therefore, possible that by *gaulmika* a military or police officer is meant. The words *śaulkika* and *gaulmika* are unknown in Sanskrit literature.

Khaṇḍarakṣa.

The next word appears as *khaṇḍarakṣa* in plates Nos. 15 and 26, but has the form *khaḍgarakṣa* in No. 25. We are tempted to consider the latter as the correct form and to regard *khaṇḍarakṣa* as a corruption under vernacular influence. There can be little doubt that Hindī *khāṇḍā* "a straight, double-edged sword" is derived from the Sanskrit *khaḍga*. It

[1] *Rājat.* (transl. Stein) Vol. II, p. 430. Bṛhaspati mentions that the "levirate" (*niyoga*) was practised among the Khaśas; cf. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 71.

should, however, be noticed that in the Bhāgalpur grant also the form *khaṇḍarakṣa* occurs, whereas the Āmgāchī plate has *aṅgarakṣa*. The word does not seem to occur in the Gupta inscriptions or in literature. The etymological meaning, supposing *khaḍgarakṣa* to be the correct form, would be "swords-guard."

Tarapati.

The word *tarapati* (or *tarapatika*) too is of uncertain meaning. It seems to correspond with *tarika* which in the two Pāla grants comes immediately after *viṣayapati* and *grāmapati*. In Sanskrit literature the word *tarika* means "ferry-man" (from *tari* "boat, ship" root *tar-*, to cross). The term *tarapati* which is not found in literature might be taken in the same sense, as *tara* means "crossing, passage, ferry" (but also "freight"). But it is not very clear how a ferry-man could be expected to interfere with the rights and privileges of the owner of rent-free land. Besides, in Chambā territory ferries are practically non-existent, the only one being that which Forster used on the 10th April 1783, when he crossed the Rāvī to reach Basōhlī. One of the Basārh clay sealings (No. 16) has the legend *Mahāpratīhāra-taravara-Vinayaśūrasya*. Dr. Bloch may be right in suggesting the identity of *taravara* and *tarika*, but the meaning of both words remains unexplained.

Chattracchāyika.

We meet next with two expressions which occur only in Vidagdha's grant, and as far as I know, are *hapax-eirēmena*. We have, therefore, to rely entirely on etymological evidence. There can be no doubt, that *chat[t]racchāyika* is derived from *chattracchāyā* "shade of a parasol." The literal translation of the word would consequently be "parasol-shadower" and we may safely assume that it is synonymous with such words as *chattragrāhin*, *chattradhāra*, *chattradhārin* and *chattrapati* meaning "the parasol-bearer." It is well known that in the East the parasol is one of the emblems of royalty.[1] In Indian sculpture a royal personage is usually recognizable from the parasol held over his head by an attendant, whilst figures of deities and saints also are very often portrayed with that symbol of sovereignty. The *chattracchāyika* or "parasol-bearer" is, therefore, a personal attendant on the Rājā.[2]

Veṭakila.

The same is, I believe, the case with the *veṭakila*. This word, which is only found here, I propose to derive from Sanskrit *vīṭikā*, a diminutive of *vīṭā*, meaning "a little ball," but used as an abbreviation of *tāmbūla-vīṭikā* in the sense of "a preparation of the areca nut enveloped in a leaf of the betel plant." The form *veṭakila* is, of course, irregular, but it should be remembered that the word is not Sanskrit, but apparently a sanskritized Prākrit or *bhāṣā* term. In any case, I have little doubt that it may be taken as a synonym of *tāmbūla-da*, °*dāyaka*, °*dāyin*, °*dhara*, °*vāhaka*, etc. The "betel-carrier" was a satellite of the Rājā not less indispensable than the "parasol-carrier." Kalhaṇa[3] relates a story about Jayāpīḍa who, when wandering in *Pauṇḍravardhana* (Bengal) in disguise, was recognised as a king from the circumstance that out of habit his hand reached from time to time to the back of his

[1] In a MS. history of the Rājās of Jammū in the vernacular it is said of Ranjīt Dēv कई राजे और मुलक इसकी छत्र छाया में रहिते थे "Several rājās and countries remained in the shade of his parasol."

[2] Cf. *Rājat.* VIII, 336, where it is related, how after the murder of king Uccala his body was cremated by his "parasol-holders."

[3] *Rājat.* IV, 425-431; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 160.

shoulder as if to receive betel from an attendant standing behind him. That the office of "betel-carrier" was not an unimportant one we may conclude from the fable of "The Blue Jackal" in the Pañcatantra,[1] where we read that the upstart jackal king "gave the lion the rank of a minister, the tiger the guardianship of the bedroom, the leopard the office of the betel (*tāmbūlādhikāra*) and the wolf the post of doorkeeper." This passage makes it clear why the *veṭakila* is mentioned among the office-bearers of the State.

Vīrayātrika.

The term *vīrayātrika* (No. 25) or *vīrajātrika* (Nos. 15 and 26), according to Professor Kielhorn, is not mentioned in any other grant. We can only say that the first mentioned form appears to be the correct one, the change from *yā* into *jā* in the second being due to vernacular influence (Sanskrit *yātra*=Hindī *jātrā*). Etymologically we may interpret the word as meaning "a person belonging to a military expedition."

Cauroddharaṇika.

The *cauroddharaṇika* of the three Chambā plates is also mentioned in the lists on the Dēō Baraṇārk pillar and the two copper-plates of the Pāla kings. The literal meaning, as Dr. Fleet observes, is "one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves," from which it may be inferred to be a technical title of a certain class of police-officers. Professor Jolly[2] considers the word as synonymous with *cauroddhartar* and *cauragrāha* mentioned in the law-books. I may add that the prosecution of thieves (*cauroddharaṇa*) is sometimes mentioned as a special privilege conferred on the grantee, *e.g.*, in the Bhāgalpur grant (l. 42). It corresponds to the *infangthef* of Old English law. In case this right is excluded from the donation, we find it especially stipulated for by such expressions as *coradaṇḍavarjya*, *coradrohakavarja*, or simply *coravarja*.

Daṇḍika and daṇḍavāsika.

The two terms *daṇḍika* and *daṇḍavāsika* also relate to criminal justice. The rod (*daṇḍa*) is the symbol of judicial power and punishment and is, therefore, used to indicate punishment in general. As in ancient India a fine was the most common form of punishment,[3] we find in the vernacular the word *daṇḍ* exclusively used in that sense. The term *daṇḍika* or *dāṇḍika* and its synonyms *daṇḍin* and *daṇḍapāṇi* occur in literature in the sense of a police officer.

The Dēō-Baraṇārk pillar inscription and the two copper-plates of the Pāla kings have *daṇḍika* and *daṇḍapāśika* immediately after *cauroddharaṇika*. The term *daṇḍapāśika* is derived from *daṇḍa* and *pāśa*, the latter word meaning "a sling or snare." The compound *daṇḍa-pāśa* may, therefore, be rendered by "rod-and-rope" the latter expression indicating punishment by confinement.[4] From this it is evident that the *daṇḍapāśika*, originally at least, was an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals. In the Chambā copper-plates, we find a slightly different form, namely *daṇḍavāsika*. I feel inclined to ascribe this

[1] *Pañcat.* I. 10 (ed. Kielhorn, p. 55 and note p. 26). Cf. *Hitop.* III, 7 (ed. Schlegel-Lassen, p. 92).
ततस्तेन सिंहस्याग्रादौनुत्तमपरिजनान्प्राप्य.

[2] *Recht und Sitte*, p. 124.

[3] *Ibidem* p. 129.

[4] Among the Basāṛh clay sealings there are two (Nos. 14 and 15) with the legend [*Da*]*ṇḍapāśādhikaraṇasya* which I propose to translate "[Seal] of the Court of criminal law." Dr. Bloch's rendering is "[Seal] of the Chief of Police." Another seal (No. 17) has the legend *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Aguiguptasya* "[Seal] of the Judge Agni-gupta."

form to vernacular influence, instances of which we have already had occasion to notice in *khaṇḍarakṣa* and *vīrajātrika*. It is curious, however, that, whereas the words *daṇḍapāśaka* and *dāṇḍapāśika* have the meaning "police officer," the Petersburg Dictionary ascribes to *daṇḍavāsin* that of "village elder" and to *daṇḍavāsika* that of "doorkeeper." Here I wish only to mention that the last-named form occurs in the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33, l. 2) as the designation of a district officer in Pāṅgī.

Bhogapati.

The last seven names of the list, with the exception of *viniyuktaka*, are peculiar to Vidagdha's charter. The term *bhogapati* occurs in literature in the sense of "a governor of a town or province," the first member of the compound being a territorial term apparently synonymous with *bhukti*. The latter word is found in proper names like Tīrabhukti (Tirhut) and Jejākabhukti (Bundelkhaṇḍ). Which meaning the term *bhogapati* has in our copper-plate and whether an official of that title existed in Chambā at all, I am unable to decide.

Viniyuktaka.

After *bhogapati* comes *viniyuktaka*. This word occurs also in the two other Chambā grants, but here we find it placed towards the beginning of the list and preceded by *parikara-sanniyuktaka*. The word *parikara* does not appear to be the designation of an official. At least, I have not found it used in that sense in inscriptions; and in literature it always figures as a collective noun meaning "followers, servants." I therefore take *parikara-sanniyuktaka-viniyuktaka* to be one expression, in which *sanniyuktaka* and *viniyuktaka* seem to indicate some contrast. It deserves notice that in the Māliyā copper-plate and in the Āmgāchī and Bhāgalpur grants we find *viniyuktaka* preceded by *āyuktaka*. The term *āyukta-puruṣa*, rendered as "officer," occurs in the Allahābād pillar inscription, while we find *tan-niyukta* "his deputy" in the Alīnā copper-plate (l. 76) of the Gupta year 447 (A.D. 766-7) and *samniyukta* "appointed" in the Junagaṛh rock-inscription (l. 9) of Skanda-gupta. Finally I may also mention *prayuktaka* which has been read by Dr. Bloch on one of his Basāṛh seals. There can be little doubt that all the enumerated derivatives of the past participle *yukta* (root *yuj*) must be closely related in sense, but the exact meaning of each of them it is impossible to establish.

Bhāgika and bhogika.

The following two words *bhāgika* and *bhogika* are also uncertain. It seems reasonable to connect them with the *dvandva* compound *bhāgabhoga* which is frequently met with in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and will also be noticed in the grant of Vidagdha (l. 22). Dr. Fleet translates it with "royalties"; a more literal rendering which I have chosen is "share and use." It should, however, be noticed that both words, *bhāga* and *bhoga*, are also employed in the Gupta inscriptions as territorial terms and that *bhogika*, if Bühler's interpretation is correct, occurs in the Kāvī grant as a synonym of *bhogapati*.

Cāṭa.

The meaning of the word *cāṭa*, on the contrary, can be established with full certainty, as it is one of the very few terms in the list which have been preserved up to the present day. And I may at once add that Chambā appears to be the only place in the whole of India in which the word *cāṭa* in its modern form *cār* is still extant. That an official of that

designation once existed all over the Indian continent may safely be concluded from the frequent occurrence of the term in inscriptions. In the Māliyā copper-plate (l. 20) the *cāṭa* and *bhaṭa* are mentioned after the *mahattara*. We find both words especially used in the expression *acāṭabhaṭapraveśa* (as an epithet of the word *grāma*) to indicate a certain privilege attached to the donation of a village or village lands. One of the earliest instances of that compound seems to be in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Hastin of the Gupta year 156 (A.D. 475-6). Variant expressions are *abhaṭapraveśya*, *abhaṭacchātrapraveśya* and *pratiniṣiddhacāṭabhaṭapraveśa*. Dr. Fleet also compares the expressions *samastarājakīyānām apraveśya* and *rājasevakānāṁ vasatidaṇḍaprayāṇadaṇḍau na staḥ*. The last mentioned expression seems to refer to "fines, *i.e.*, forced contributions of money or supplies imposed by the king's servants, when halting at or starting from a village." Dr. Fleet adopts Bühler's interpretation[1] of the word *cāṭa* in rendering it by "irregular soldiers." The constant combination of the word with *bhaṭa* "a soldier" seemed to lend support to that view, though in Sanskrit literature *cāṭa* has quite a different sense, namely, that of "a cheat, deceiver, fortune-teller."

Fig. 22. State officials at Brahmor.

As noticed above, the word *cāṭa* survives in Chambā in its modern form *cāṛ*.[2]

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V (1876), p. 115 n. and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 98 n.

[2] On the subjoined photograph the man seated in the centre with an inkstand (*kalamdān*) stuck in his girdle is the *cāṛ*. The old man standing to his right and the one on the extreme left with a strike-light (*cakmak*) in his girdle are *bhaṭvāls* and the tall man standing to the *cāṛ*'s left is a *pāhrī* or watchman. Of the two seated in front, the old man is an *āhṛū* or milk-collector, and the other a *drubiāl* or tax-gatherer. All these men wear the national costume of the Gaddī or shepherd tribe which inhabits the Brahmor *wazārat*. Three hold the wand of office. Their pointed cap is supposed to represent Mount Kailāsa.

This is the title of the head of a *pargaṇā* who is responsible for the internal management of his district, for the collection of revenue and the apprehension of criminals.[1] It belongs to the duties of the *cāṛ*, in case the head of the State, his relatives or officials—and in modern times European travellers also—visit his *pargaṇā*, to collect load-carriers and supplies. It should be remembered that the carrying of loads on such occasions is forced labour (*bēgār*)[2] paid according to a fixed rate out of which the *cāṛ* receives his commission. The duties and position of the *cāṭa* of the copper-plates were, no doubt, the same as those of the *cāṛ*. This explains why it was granted as a special privilege to holders of rent-free lands that the *cāṭa* should not enter their village. It means that the head of the district had no right to seize agriculturists dependent on the grantee for the purpose of forced labour. Nor should he be allowed to call on the grantee to furnish supplies. This is distinctly stated in Vidagdha's grant: "And of our *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, etc., no one will be allowed to enter his (*i.e.* the grantee's) house, to cut or crush his corn, sugarcane or pasture (?), whether green or ripe, nor to take *rocika* (?) or *ciṭolā* (?) or cows-milk, nor to carry off stools, benches, or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff, and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted [on him] nor on his ploughmen, cowherds, servants, maid-servants, and all other people that are dependent on him." I quote this passage in full, as it is of unusual interest in picturing to us the amount of oppression and vexation the ordinary villager who was not in possession of, or settled on, rent-free land might be expected to endure, at the hands of petty district officers. It also supplies us with a valuable commentary on the expression *rāja-sevakānāṁ vasatidaṇḍaprayāṇadaṇḍau* quoted above from the Paiṭhan grant of Rāma-candra of Śaka-Saṁvat 1193. The substitution of *chātra* ("parasol-bearer") for *cāṭa*, in the Chammak and Siwanī copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravara-sena II, points to the fact that to the authors of those grants the word *cāṭa* was unknown or unintelligible.

Bhaṭa.

We have seen that in the inscriptions the word *cāṭa* is nearly always coupled with *bhaṭa*. The latter means "soldier" but also "servant." I presume that, when combined with *cāṭa*, it has to be taken in the sense of "an official subordinate to the head of the *pargaṇā*." The word *sevaka* which closes the list means probably any menial servant in State employ.

In the course of our discussion we have seen that only the following officials named in Vidagdha's list can be said with certainty to have been known in Chambā: *rājā*, *rājānaka* and *rājaputra* (which however in reality are titles of the head of the State, his feudatories and near relations), *rājāmātya* (if synonymous with *mahāmātya*), *daṇḍavāsika* and *cāṭa*. Other offices may be assumed with a high degree of probability to have been in existence in Chambā, as there is evidence of their occurrence in Kaśmīr or other parts of the Western Himālaya. Such are *rājasthānīya*,

[1] On the present designations of officials in Chambā cf. Rose, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVI (1907), pp. 350 f. The *cāṛ* is the "*chak*" of Brigade-Surgeon C. F. Oldham *J. R. A. S.* for 1901, p. 470.

[2] The meaning of Persian *bē-gār* (i.e. *kār-i-bēgār*) is "unpaid labour." In the title-deeds of the Muhammadan period we find the tautologic expression *biṭh-bēgār*, or *bēṭh-bēgār*, the first member of the compound being derived from Skr. *viṣṭi*, "forced labour."

pramātar and *nihelapati*. If we take *hastyaśvoṣṭrabalavyāpṛtaka* in the sense of "officers attached to the army," it is evident that this element also must have been present in ancient Chambā. The *chattracchāyika* and *veṭakila* were, of course, indispensable satellites of the Rājā's court.

Akṣapaṭalika.

It now remains to be considered what other officials are mentioned in the Chambā documents, apart from the above discussed lists. At the end of two of our title-deeds (No. 14, l. 19; No. 26, l. 21) we find the name of an official with the designation of *ākṣapaṭalika*. In two other plates (No. 24, l. 24; No. 25, l. 28) we have the same title preceded by the word *mahā* "great." It seems that the *mahākṣapaṭalika* mentioned in these two plates is one and the same person, though the form of his personal name slightly differs in the two cases. It is *Kāhila* in No. 24 and *Kāhuka* in No. 25; but in support of my suggestion I may quote the Sarban well inscription in the Delhi Museum in which the names *Paitūka* and *Paitala* are applied to one and the same person.[1] It is impossible to say whether the terms *ākṣapaṭalika* and *mahākṣapaṭalika* denote any difference in grade. So much is certain that both words are used to designate the official who acted as the *dūta* of the grant.

The *ākṣapaṭalika* is the officer in charge of the *akṣapaṭala* office. The latter name has been rendered by "Court of Justice" and "Archive," but Dr. Stein[2] prefers to translate it as "Accountant General's Office" on account of a gloss in a manuscript of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which explains *akṣapaṭala* as *gaṇanādhipatiṣṭhāna*. Dr. Fleet renders it as "Record Office" or "Court of Rolls" (*daftar*). In the Kaśmīr chronicle the word is of frequent occurrence. One passage[3] is of special interest, as it shows that in reality title-deeds were issued by the office in question. It is the story of the low-caste Raṅga, the favourite of king Cakra-varman. "When the king had granted the village of Helu to Raṅga as an *agrahāra*, and the recorder of official documents (*paṭṭopādhyāya*) did not execute the document relating to the grant (*dānapaṭṭaka*), then Raṅga proceeded to the Akṣapaṭala [office] and in anger thus addressed that [official]: "You son of a slave, why do you not write: "*Raṅgassa Helu diṇṇa*" ("Helu granted to Raṅga"). The idea of a grant of a village to a low-caste man was, of course, as absurd in the eyes of Kalhaṇa as that of a title-deed composed in the vernacular.

Kāyastha.

Two of the Chambā copper-plates (Nos. 25, l. 23, and 26, l. 21) mention, after the *mahākṣapaṭalika* who acted as the *dūta* of the grant, two officials, designated as *karaṇa-kāyastha*, who were the writers of the document. Bühler[4] assumes that in this compound "*karaṇa* is perhaps only a synonym of *kāyastha*, as the law-books mention the Karaṇas as one of the mixed castes." I prefer to follow Kielhorn in taking *karaṇa* in the sense of "a deed, legal document." The word *karaṇika* which he renders by "writer of legal documents" is synonymous with *karaṇa-kāyastha*.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 94 f. *Cat. Delhi Museum* (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 33 ff.
[2] Note at *Rājat.* V, 301; cf. Bühler, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 94; transl. Fleet, p. 102.
[3] *Rājat.* V, 397-8; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 228.
[4] *Indische Palæographie*, p. 94; transl. Fleet, p. 102.

The Brahmor grant of Yugākara (No. 14) mentions only one writer who has the designation *kāyastha*. In No. 15 we find only the writer's personal name. In No. 24 the corresponding passage of the inscription is partly lost; but the syllables *kā. De*[*va*] . . . . are still legible. Evidently *kā.* stands for *kāyashta* and *De*[*va*] . . . I propose to restore as *Devapena*, the Instrumental case of *Devapa*, this being the name of the father of the *kāyastha* Śivapa mentioned in Nos. 25 and 26. If this restoration is correct, it would show that the office in question—as we should have expected—was hereditary. In the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33, l. 3) mention is made of a *Kāyastha* Sekha; his knowledge of Sanskrit certainly left a great deal to be desired.

The *kāyasthas* who are mentioned in inscriptions from the 8th century, are a caste of clerks. We have seen that in the passage from "The Little Clay Cart" quoted above these scribes are dubbed the "snakes" (we should say "sharks") of the law-court. This agrees well with the part they play in the Rājataraṅgiṇī where their oppression is frequently complained of. "The Courtezan," says Kalhaṇa,[1] "the scribe (*kāyastha*), the clerk (*divira*) and the merchant, being [all] deceitful by nature, are [in this respect] superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained under a teacher's advice." That the modern *Kāyasth* or *Kāyath* enjoys no better reputation may be inferred from the Persian proverb :

اگر قحط الرجال افتد ازین سه انس کم گیری
یکی کایتھ دوم کمبوہ سوم بدذات کشمیری

"Even if there befell a famine of men, one should not make friendship with these three; first the Kāyath,[2] second the Kamboh, third the bad-natured Kashmīrī."

The influence of the *kāyasthas* on the development of the Indian alphabets has been noted by Bühler. The modern form of Nāgarī in use in Bihār is called after them *Kāyathī*.

I now wish to draw attention to an interesting passage in the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33, l. 2) in which we find the names and designations of the local officials of Pāṅgī at that time (A.D. 1170). They are: *Śegāṇa* Śrī-Kāluka, *Pratihāra* Śrī-Neṇuka, *Daṇḍavāsika* Śikutaka (?) and *Koṣṭhika-satka-segāṇa* Sirika. As the words are given in Sanskrit, or, correctly speaking, Sanskritized forms, it is impossible to say which terms were actually in use. We can only assume that they did not differ materially from those used in the inscription. The document does not supply any information regarding the functions of these officials. All we can say is that in all probability they are mentioned in order of rank.

Officials of Pāṅgī in A.D. 1170.

The chief official of Pāṅgī at that time would, therefore, be Kāluka (probably sanskritized *Kālu*) who bears the curious title of *Segāṇa*. This word is not Sanskrit. According to a suggestion, for which I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Francke, the word is perhaps a corruption of Tibetan *śogampa* meaning "a custom house officer or tax-collector." If this

Segāṇa.

[1] *Rājat.* VIII, 131 ; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 12.

[2] Another, perhaps more original, version of this prvoerb mentions the Afghān instead of the Kāyath.

interpretation is correct, it would point to the occupation of Pāṅgī by some Tibetan power previous to Chambā rule. Anyhow, we may assume that the functions of the *segāṇa* were substantially the same as those of the head official of Pāṅgī who until recent times bore the title of *pālsarā*. This term, which is not found in other parts of Chambā, is the designation of the head of a *pargaṇā* in Maṇḍi State and is known to have existed in Kuḷū also, where it has been replaced by the term *nēgī*.

Pratihāra.

The next official Nenuka (probably sanskritized *Neṇu*) has the title of *pratihāra*. This term is also found in the fountain inscriptions of Sai (No. 35) and Nāḷ (No. 39, l. 2) as the designation of a local official.

In Sanskrit literature the word *pratīhāra* is used in the sense of "a door-keeper or porter." Among the five offices created by Lalitāditya of Kaśmīr the first is that of *mahāpratīhāra*.[1] Dr. Stein renders it by "High Chamberlain." The same term occurs in the Alīnā copper-plate of Śīlāditya VII[2] (l. 75) as the designation of the *dūta* of the grant who has also the title of *mahākṣapaṭalika*, discussed above. We have already noticed it in combination with *taravara* on one of the Basāṛh clay sealings. In the list of officials in the Āmgāchī and Bhāgalpur copper-plates the *mahāpratīhāra* is mentioned immediately after the *mahāsenāpati* "the Commander-in-Chief."

In the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja[3] (l. 3) Lakṣmaṇa is called the *pratihāra* of Rāma; on that account the rulers of Bhoja's House who claimed descent from Lakṣmaṇa were known by that name. In the same document the word is explained by a fanciful etymology from *pratiharaṇa*. At first sight it may seem strange that the office of "door-keeper" was considered of such importance. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dhyān Siṅgh, the powerful minister of Mahārājā Raṇjīt Siṅgh held the post of *deoṛhivālā* or "chief door-keeper." Drew[4] rightly remarks that "in a native court, a place of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence."

It is clear, however, that the term, if applied to a district officer in Chambā can mean neither "door-keeper" nor "chamberlain." It is evidently an instance of the degradation of a high title of which India offers so many examples. We may perhaps conjecture that the *pratihāra* of the three fountain inscriptions held the same position as the modern *likhnihārā* who is the deputy of the *cāṛ*, keeps the revenue accounts and does the clerical work. I do not, of course, assume any etymological connection between the two words.

Daṇḍavāsika.

The title *daṇḍavāsika* borne by the third official of the Sālhī inscription has already been discussed above. Here also we shall have to assume a deterioration in meaning, at least if the word is derived from Sanskrit *daṇḍapāśika*. What in the present instance the

[1] *Rājat.* IV 142; transl. Stein Vol. I, p. 1133.

[2] *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 180 and 190.

[3] *A. R. A. S.*, 1903-4, pp. 280 and 283.

[4] *Jummoo*, p. 12.

functions of the *daṇḍavāsika* were, it is impossible to say. Perhaps he was subordinate officer corresponding with the *bhaṭvāl* of modern Chambā.

Fig 23. State Kōṭhī at Brahmor (ruined in the earthquake of 4th April 1905).

State Kōṭhīs.

The last official mentioned in the inscription bears also the title of *segāṇa* and may, therefore, have been a revenue officer. But besides, he is called *koṣṭhika-satka* which probably means that he was attached to the *kōṭhī* (Skr. *koṣṭhika*). It should be remembered that each *pargaṇā* contains a State granary (*kōṭhī*) in which the local officers live and in which the revenue, collected in kind, used to be stored. In a Chambā copper-plate (No. 25, l 21) mention is made of such a granary (*koṣṭhāgāra*) at Bhadravarma, modern Bhadram, not far from the capital. This explains why in Kuḷū where once the same system of administration existed, the word *kōṭhī* is used in the sense of *pargaṇā*.

a.

SCALE 0·40

b.

c.

d.

SCALE 0·625

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Nos. 1-4.—PANALI NĀLĀ ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.

(Plate VI.)

THESE rock-inscriptions are found in the Panali Nālā not far from Gum which was once the head-quarters of a *parganā* of the same name, but is now included in the Lilh *parganā*.

The letters are of a cursive type which makes it in many cases difficult to establish their value. The main interest of these inscriptions is the circumstance that they are the oldest epigraphs hitherto found in Chambā territory. On account of the character, I feel inclined to assign them to the 7th century.

The first inscription (Plate VI *a*) consists of two lines 2′ 1″ and 7″ long respectively. The letters in the upper line are partly uncertain. The following is a tentative reading:

मह(?)हिमवारा सुहृित र्ष(?)त ते ते स(?)वच्छरा

(l. 2.) गोरदीवेन [लिखितं]

The only part of the reading which appears certain is *vaccharā* at the end of the first line and *Goradīvena* at the beginning of the second line. The latter is probably a personal name. I presume that *ī* has been substituted for *e* and that the name is in reality Goradeva. There are other instances of the substitution of *ī* for *e* in the Chambā inscriptions. This points to Kaśmir influence, as the pandits of that country usually pronounce *e* as *ī* in Sanskrit words. After the instrumental case *Goradīvena* we naturally expect a past participle. Perhaps we may read *likhitaṁ*, assuming that the vowel stroke of *khi* has erroneously been drawn through the *akṣara* instead of at the side of it.

The second inscription (Plate VI *b*) consists of a single line 1′ 2″ long. It contains eleven *akṣaras* 1″ to 2½″ high. It will be noticed that it partly agrees with No. a. I read it tentatively:

हि[म]वारा प्रहितर्या एते भ

The third inscription (Plate VI *c*) consists of one line, 5½″ long, of only six *akṣaras*. I read it एते संवच्छर; which corresponds to Sanskrit एतस्मिन्संवत्सरे "In this year." Possibly the numeral or numerals expressing the year have become lost. The use of Prākrit in an inscription of this period is remarkable.

The fourth inscription (Plate VI *d*) consists also of one short line, 6″ long, of six *akṣaras*. It reads ओं नम[:*] शिवाय "Adoration to Śiva."

Nos. 5-8.—IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF MERU-VARMAN.

(Plates VII-X).

These inscriptions were first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham and subsequently re-edited by me.[1] They are engraved on the pedestals of the brass images of Lakṣaṇā Devī, Gaṇeśa, Nandi and Śakti Devī, of which the first three are found at Brahmor (map Barmaor), the ancient capital of the State situated on the Buḍhal, a tributary of the Rāvī; whilst the temple of Śakti Devī stands at Chatrāṛhī (map Chitrahi) about half-way between Brahmor and Chambā town below the triple junction of the Rāvī, Buḍhal and Tundēhn.

The four inscribed images, which were made by order of Meru-varman, exhibit a high degree of *technique*, rather than of artistic merit. In the Devī statues the workman, whose name, Gugga, is perpetuated in the inscriptions, has realized that conception of female beauty so frequently portrayed in Old-Indian poetry, but so alien to western taste. Even the *trivali* has not been omitted!

Lakṣaṇā is mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (*śloka* 46) as Bhadrakālī and is also known by the general name of Bhagavatī, the feminine of Bhagavān. Apparently she is, in the popular belief, no other than Durgā-Pārvatī, for she is portrayed in the act of slaying the Mahiṣāsura—the much extolled exploit of that goddess. The image proper is 3′ 4″, the pedestal 9″ high. Her right foot is placed on the head of the buffalo-shaped demon, and with the trident held in her right hand she pierces his neck. Her left hand partly raises his body from the ground. Another right hand clasps a sword, another left hand a bell. It is of interest to note that the forked end of the trident (Skr. *triśūla*) assumes the form of a thunderbolt (Skr. *vajra*, Tib. *rdorje*). There is thus reason to suppose that this favourite weapon of Devī and of Śiva, the ancient storm-god, is nothing but a representation of the forked lightning, which in a somewhat different shape became the attribute of the thunder-god Indra. Miniature tridents of iron are presented in great number at Devī shrines as votive offerings, all through the western Himālayas. The bell, another favourite attribute of the goddess, by means of which she frightens her adversaries, I suppose to be a symbol of thunder.

The image of Gaṇeśa is 3′ high, its copper pedestal 14½″. Its erection by Meru-varman is duly mentioned in the Vaṁśāvalī (*śloka* 46). Both the legs of the Gaṇeśa image are broken, but a fragment of drapery, decorated with lotus-flowers, is still preserved on the pedestal. The god wears a snake as a sacred thread and has a tiger's or lion's skin tied round his waist. It is fastened in a knot over his prominent belly. He is three-eyed and four-armed and holds the following attributes: a rosary in his upper right hand and one of his tusks in the other right hand, a hatchet in his upper left hand and a vessel of sweetmeats in the lower left hand.[3] The appearance of the

[1] *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV p. 111 f.; Pl. XXVIII and *A. R. A. S.* 1902-03, pp. 240 ff.

[2] *Durgā-saptaśatī* (Bombay 1871) III, 37. एवमुक्त्वा समुत्पत्य साऽऽरूढा तं महासुरम्। पादेनाक्रम्य कण्ठे च शूलेनैनमताडयत्

[3] Cf. Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, Plate LXXII.

(*a*) Image of Śakti Devī.

HEIGHT 4' 6"

(*b*) Image of Lakṣaṇā Devī.

HEIGHT 4' 1"

figure therefore closely agrees with the description given in the following *dhyāna*,[1] for which I am indebted to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

सिन्दूराभं त्रिनेत्रं पृथुतरजठरं हस्तपद्मैर्दधानं
दन्तं पाशाङ्कुशेष्टान्युरुकरविलसद्बीजपूराभिरामम् ।
बालेन्दुद्योतमौलिं करिपतिवदनं दानपूरार्द्रगण्डं
भोगीन्द्राबद्धभूषं भजत गणपतिं रक्तवस्त्राङ्गरागम् ॥

"Worship ye the Lord of Gaṇas (Gaṇapati) with his diadem shining like the young moon; with the face of a lord of elephants and cheeks moist with gushing rut-juice; with a mighty snake, fastened as an ornament, and red clothes and ointment—him, minium-coloured, three-eyed and very corpulent, who in his lotus-like hands holds a tusk, a noose, an elephant hook and a boon, and who delights in the citron glittering in his broad trunk."[2]

The following is another *dhyāna*[3] which I obtained from a local Paṇḍit:

शुण्डादण्डविराजितो गजमुखो हस्तैश्चतुर्भिर्वरैः
बिभ्रन्मोदकचाक्षसूत्रपरशुं[4] तद्वद्रदं निर्मलम् ।
विघ्नध्वंसनिवारणैकचतुरो यः सिद्धिबुद्धिपतिः[5]
सो ऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं रुद्रात्मजस्तुन्दिलः ॥

"May the corpulent son of Rudra (*i.e.*, Śiva) grant you the desired fruit, he, the lord of success and intellect, who alone is quick in destroying and removing obstacles. He, elephant-faced and distinguished by an elephant's trunk, bears in his four excellent hands [a vessel of] sweetmeats, a rosary, a hatchet and likewise a spotless tusk."

On the pedestal are a pair of lions, the ordinary symbol of a throne (Skr. *siṁhāsana* lit. lion-seat) in Indian plastic art, and in the centre a grotesque, elephant-eared figurine crouching in an indecent attitude and resting his hands on a crooked stick. Over it the inscription is placed. I have noticed a similar figurine on a stone Gaṇeśa image of the Viśveśvara temple at Bajaurā (Kuḷū). It is probably meant for one of Śiva's Gaṇas who are often represented with animal heads, and of whom—it should be remembered—Gaṇeśa is the leader, as his name indicates. Mr. Cousens informs me that, in the Cave sculptures, one finds dwarfs and some of Śiva's Gaṇas resting upon crooked sticks. They are often portrayed in indecent attitudes. Possibly the figure in question was originally derived from the Bodhisattva figurine commonly found on the pedestals of Buddhist statues of Gandhāra. On a brass Buddha statuette from Fatehpur (Kāṅgṛā District), now in the Lahore Museum, the centre of the pedestal is occupied by a miniature Atlant, for which I have claimed the same origin.[6] The Gaṇeśa figure is perhaps the most fortunate

[1] It occurs in the *Tantrasāra* and is quoted *Śabdakalpadruma*. The metre is *Sragdharā*.

[2] The word *iṣṭa* in the second line is perhaps synonymous with *vara* and may refer to the "gift-bestowing attitude" (Skr. *varamudrā*). But it is strange that no mention is made of the vessel of sweetmeats, one of Gaṇeśa's most characteristic attributes. It is interesting to note that the citron or lemon (Skr. *bījapūra*) is also an attribute of Vaiśravaṇa the Buddhist god of wealth.

[3] It is composed in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

[4] Read बिभन्मोदकसचक्षसूत्रपरशू.

[5] Perhaps सिद्धिबुद्धीः पतिः is to be read. Instead of बुद्धि it would be better to read ऋद्धि.

[6] *A. R. A. S.* 1904-05, p. 109.

of Gugga's works, and we cannot but admire the skill with which he has succeeded in imparting majesty to the grotesque features of the elephant-faced god.

The bull Nandi (locally called Nandigaṇ), the vehicle of Śiva, stands in front of the temple dedicated to that deity under the name of Maṇimahēs. "The execution," Cunningham says, "is stiff and rigid with all the features much exaggerated." The erection of the bull is mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (*śloka* 47) which asserts that Meru-varman wrote on it his royal decrees. This tradition which exists up to the present day does not, unfortunately, agree with the facts. Strange to say, the *Vaṁśāvalī* does not mention the founding of the temple itself. The bull is of considerable size, being 5′ high, to which the pedestal adds 13″. It should be noted that the tail, the right ear and the bell suspended from the neck of the animal are broken. It is believed that this damage was done on the occasion of a foreign invasion, but tradition fails to supply any reliable information as to the nationality of the invaders. The people agree in asserting that they were not Muhammadans. These certainly would have done the work of destruction more thoroughly. According to some, the invaders came from Yarkand. The *Vaṁśāvalī* (*śloka* 48) relates that in the reign of Lakṣmī-varman, the grandson of Meru-varman, the Kīras invaded Chambā and killed the Rājā in battle. It seems not unlikely that the damage done to the statue as well as to the Gaṇeśa image may be connected with this invasion.

Śakti Devī of Chatrāṛhī is more properly named Śivaśakti, from which it appears that she represents the female energy of Śiva, commonly called Māheśvarī (from Maheśvara=Śiva). This explains also why a stone effigy of Śiva's bull Nandi is placed in front of the shrine. The image which is 4′ 6″ in height is four-armed. The chief attribute is not a trident, as one would expect, but a lance[1] which is an attribute not of Śiva but of his son Kumāra or Kārttikeya. Possibly it implies an allusion to the name of the goddess, Sanskrit *śakti* meaning both "power" and "lance." In the other right hand she holds a full-blown lotus-flower—the general Indian symbol of beauty and grace. The two left hands grasp a bell and a snake. The meaning of the bell has been indicated above. The snake, whatever its original significance may be, is decidedly a Śaiva emblem. The goddess is standing on a conventionally treated lotus, beneath which the inscription is engraved.

The language of Meru-varman's inscriptions is Sanskrit, but of an extremely ungrammatical type. The substitution of *v* for *b* and the doubling of *t* before *r* (*gottra*, *puttra*) and of *g*, *c*, *t*, *m*, and *v*, after that letter (*durgga*, *arccā*, *kirtti*, *varmman*, *pūrvvam*) are too common in Sanskrit epigraphs to call for special notice. A more serious error is the substitution of *o* for *au* in *potra* and the use of forms like *kārāpita* for *kārita* and *karmīṇa* for *karmiṇā*. The Lakṣaṇā and Gaṇeśa inscriptions are in prose, the other two in verse, the Nandi inscription in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, that on the Śakti image in what is evidently meant for the *Indravajrā* metre. The numerous grammatical as well as metrical mistakes occurring in the two latter epigraphs do not suggest great ability on the part of Meru-varman's *paṇḍits*. They obscure the meaning to such a degree that it is

[1] Cunningham calls it a sceptre. The temple attendants informed me that this lance is a modern addition. Possibly the image held originally its proper emblem—the trident (Skr. *triśūla*).

(*a*) Image of Gaṇeśa.

HEIGHT 3'

(*b*) Image of Narasiṁha.

HEIGHT 3' (?)

only possible to establish the general purport of the inscriptions. In transcribing them, I have attempted to correct the numerous mistakes which will be obvious to any one possessing the most elementary knowledge of Sanskrit. A disregard of *saṁdhi* rules is noticeable throughout.

The inscriptions of Meru-varman are not dated. According to Cunningham,[1] the character would be that of the ninth and tenth centuries. It should, however, be noted that the script of Meru-varman is much earlier than the Śāradā character, which must have existed as a distinct type as far back as the tenth century and was in common use in the Panjāb Hills by that time. Hence it is difficult to assign to these inscriptions a later date than the eighth century. On account of the striking resemblance of their scripts to that found on the Multai copper-plates[2] of c. A.D. 700, I am inclined to place them rather in the beginning than at the end of that century. This conclusion well agrees with the place assigned to Meru-varman in the Chambā *Vaṁśāvalī*. It should further be noticed that the sacred syllable *oṁ* is regularly expressed by a symbol which is derived from the sign for *O*, as found in inscriptions of the seventh century, but which in some cases is placed vertically. In the Lakṣaṇā legend we twice find at the end of a sentence a symbol consisting of two concentric circles, the inner one approaching a dot.[3] In the same inscription the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* should be noticed.

No. 5.—LAKṢAṆĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(Plate X.)

The inscription on the image of Lakṣaṇā consists of two lines, 18½″ and 17¼″ long respectively. The average size of the letters is from ⅜″ to ½″. The engraving is well executed. The epigraph records the construction of the image by the workman Gugga by order of Meru-varman, whose three immediate ancestors are enumerated, together with the mythical and the presumably historical progenitor of his race—Āditya the Sun-god and Moṣūṇa. The main point of interest from a linguistic point of view is the word used to indicate the image. Cunningham read in the second line *Devyārccavkārāpitāḥ*, but the syllable which he read *vkā* can only be *ḥkā*. It is further evident that the preceding compound contains the word *arcā* which means "worship," but which must here be taken in the sense of "object of worship." Another instance of a similar "materialisation" of meaning is found in the word *kīrti* meaning "glory," but which in inscriptions is used for "an object of glory, a glorious work." In that sense we shall presently find it in the Nandi image inscription.[4]

The faulty form of *devyārccaḥ* seems to be due to confusing the alternate forms *devyā arcāḥ* and *devyarcāḥ*.[5] The *a* of the last syllable must in any case be lengthened. It should also be noted that the word *arcā* stands in the plural.

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[1] *Ancient Geography*, p. 141.

[2] Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, Table IV ; col. XX.

[3] *Ibidem* p. 90 ; Bühler supposes it to be a conventional representation either of the *dharmacakra* or of the lotus. For the peculiar form of *O* see Table IV : 6, XVIII.

[4] Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 212, footnote 6.

[5] A similar mistake occurs in inscription No. 14, l. 4 *devyodara* instead of *devyudara* (or *devyā udara*).

TEXT.

ओम् ॥ मोषूणस्वगोत्रादित्यवंशसंभूत-श्रीआदित्यवर्म्मदेव-प्रपौत्रो-श्रीवलवर्म्मदेवपौत्र-श्रीदिवाकरवर्म्मदेवपुत्रेण ॥ (l. 2) श्रीमेरुवर्म्मणा ॥ आत्मपुण्यवृद्धये लक्षणादेव्यार्च्चं × कारापिताः ॥ ० ॥ कर्म्मीण गुग्गेण ॥ ⊙ ॥

CORRECTED READING.

ओम् ॥ मोषूणस्वगोत्रादित्यवंशसंभूत-श्रीमदादित्यवर्मदेवप्रपौत्र-श्रीबलवर्मदेवपौत्र-श्रीदिवाकरवर्मदेवपुत्रेण (l. 2) श्रीमेरुवर्मणात्मपुण्यवृद्धये लक्षणादेव्या अर्चा × कारिताः कर्मिणा गुग्गेन ॥

TRANSLATION.

Born from the own-house (*gotra*) of Moṣūṇa[1] and from the Solar race, the great-grandson of the illustrious lord Āditya-varman, the grandson[2] of the illustrious lord Bala-varman, the son of the illustrious lord Divākara-varman, (l. 2) the illustrious lord Meru-varman, for the increase of his spiritual merit, has caused the holy image of the goddess Lakṣaṇā to be made by the workman Gugga.

No. 6.—GAṆEŚA IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE X.)

The Gaṇeśa image bears an inscription in four lines of unequal length (13″ to $5\frac{3}{4}$″). The fourth line is divided into two by the head of the grotesque figurine noticed above. The size of the letters is from $\frac{1}{4}$″ to $\frac{3}{8}$″. The execution is fair. The contents—it will be seen—are almost identical with those of the Lakṣaṇā inscription. Instead of the word *pauttra* we find here the curious term *anupottra* (read *anupautra*) which evidently owes its origin to a wish to emphasize the distinction between *pautra* and *prapautra*, the meaning being the same as that of *pautra*. The word indicating the gift was read by Cunningham *devavarma(n)*; but *varman* never has the meaning of "an image." The third syllable must be *dha*. Evidently the expression intended by the author of the inscription was *deyadharma*,[3] the term commonly used in the epigraphs of the Gupta period to indicate "a pious gift" and regularly followed by *'yam*.

TEXT.

ओं नमः गणपतये ॥ मूषूणस्वगोत्रादित्यवंशसंभूत-श्रीआदित्यवर्म्मदेव-पपौत्र-(l. 2) श्रीवलवर्म्मदेवानुपोत्र-श्रीदिवाकरवर्म्मदेव-सूनुना ॥ (l. 3) महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमेरुवर्म्मणा कारापिते देवधर्म्मो यं ॥ (l. 4) कर्म्मीण गुग्गेण ॥

CORRECTED READING.

ओं नमो गणपतये ॥ मूषूणस्वगोत्रादित्यवंशसंभूत-श्रीमदादित्यवर्मदेवप्रपौत्र-(l. 2) श्रीबलवर्मदेवपौत्र-श्रीदिवाकरवर्मदेवसूनुना (l. 3) महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमेरुवर्मणा कारितो देयधर्मो ऽयं (l. 4) कर्मिणा गुग्गेन ॥

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[1] Cunningham took the syllable *sva* to be part of the proper name. I believe that it belongs to the following word *gotra* and has to be taken as a separate word.

[2] As remarked by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 15, footnote 3, the more correct rendering of *prapautra* and *pautra* would be "son of son's son" and "son's son."

[3] Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 25, footnote 5. The expression *devadharmma* for *deyadharmma* occurs in inscription No. 9 of the present volume.

Brazen Bull of Meru-varman.

HEIGHT 6' 1"

PLATE IX.

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to Gaṇapati. Born from the own-house of Mūṣūṇa and from the Solar race, the great-grandson of the illustrious lord Āditya-varman, the grandson of the illustrious lord Bala-varman, the son of the illustrious lord Divākara-varman, the king of kings, the illustrious Meru-varman has caused this pious gift to be made by the workman Gugga.

No. 7.—NANDI IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE X.)

On the image of the bull Nandi we find two lines each 3′ 2″ long,[1] the name of the maker being added in the third line of $4\frac{3}{4}$″. The letters, the average size of which is $\frac{1}{2}$″, are very distinct. Unfortunately the author of the inscription has performed his task in a far less satisfactory manner than the artist. His knowledge of Sanskrit grammar was evidently very imperfect, and the whole record looks like a conglomerate of words and expressions borrowed from other votive inscriptions, but only partially understood, or altered to such an extent as to render them unintelligible. So much is certain that the inscription records that Meru-varman built a temple which, with an evident allusion at the founder's name, is said to have equalled Mount Meru in height. In front of it he placed the bull on which the inscription is found. The second half of the first stanza which contains a description of the temple in question is very obscure, owing to the use of what seem to be technical terms denoting various members of the building.

Unfortunately it is by no means certain that the present temple is the edifice founded by Meru-varman. Its style is that of the ordinary *śikhara* temple; whereas at this early period and in such close proximity to Kaśmīr one would expect to find the style of the ancient Kaśmīr temples which, as we know, was also in vogue in the plains. The façade of the Lakṣaṇā temple has the trefoil arch enclosed in a triangular pediment,[2] which forms such a typical feature of the Kaśmīr temples. This would indicate that the Kaśmīr style was known in Chambā in the days of Meru-varman, who—it should be remembered—was well-nigh contemporaneous with the great Lalitāditya, the founder of the famous temple of Mārtāṇḍa. It should also be noticed that our inscription seems to imply that Meru-varman's temple was provided with a *maṇḍapa*, whereas the present shrine consists only of a cella entered through a porch, to which that appellation can hardly be applied. (Cf. fig. 16.)

In ancient Hindū temples we invariably find the figures of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā on both sides of the entrance. Such for instance is the case with the temple of Mārtaṇḍ.[3] In one of the Baijnāth *Praśastis*, too, it is distinctly stated that figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā were placed at the entrance. It deserves special notice that they are also found, carved in wood, on the temple of Lakṣaṇā Devī. In each instance the two river goddesses are distinguished by their vehicles—the crocodile (*makara*) and the tortoise.

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[1] The estampage reproduced in plate X has been cut into two.

[2] *Vide A. R. A. S.* for 1902-03, plate XXXIV.

[3] Major Cole has misinterpreted these figures. *Ancient buildings in Kashmir*, Plates 16—18.

In temples of a later period we usually still find two female figures flanking the entrance to the sanctum. But their true meaning has become lost, and the characteristic vehicles of the two river-goddesses have either been omitted or changed into meaningless animals. This is the case in the temple of Maṇimaheśa where the crocodile and the tortoise have developed into birds, apparently geese. This is another sign of the late date of this temple. Considering that the temples of Lakṣaṇā, Śakti and Gaṇeśa are all built of stone and wood and decorated with woodcarvings, it seems highly probable that the Śiva temple of Meru-varman was a shrine of the same type, which at a later period was replaced by the present stone temple.

The word *kīrti*, as has been remarked above, is used here in the sense of "a work which renders its constructor famous." The compound *Śrī-Meruvarmma-catur-odadhi-kīrttir* will be readily understood by comparing an expression like *catur-udadhi-samatikrānta-kīrti* which is found elsewhere in epigraphical records.[1] At the end of the inscription the object of the donation is said to be the increase in religious merit of the founder and his parents.

TEXT.

ओं प्रासाद मेरुसदृशं हिमवन्तमूर्ध्नि: कृत्वा स्वयं प्रवर-कर्म्मशुभैरनेकै: तच्चन्द्रशालरचितं नवनाभ नाम प्राग्ग्रीवकैर्व्विविधमण्डपनै: कचित्रै: ॥ (l. 2) तस्याग्रतो वृषभ पीन-कपोलकाय: संश्लिष्ट-वच्चकुदोन्नतदेवयान: श्रीमेरुवर्म्म-चतुरोदधिकीर्त्तिरेषा: मातापितृ: सततमात्मफलानुवृद्धै: ॥ (l. 3) कृतं कर्म्मीण गुग्गेन: ॥

CORRECTED READING.

ओम् ॥ प्रासादं मेरुसदृशं हिमवन्मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा स्वयं प्रवर-कर्मशुभैरनेकै: । तच्चन्द्रशाला रचिता नयनाभिरामा प्राग्ग्रीवकै र्विविधैर्मण्डपैर्नैकचित्रै: ॥ (l. 2) तस्याग्रतो [स्थापितो] वृषभ: पीन-कपोलकाय: संश्लिष्टवच्च:ककुद उन्नतदेवयानं । श्रीमेरुवर्मणश्चतुरुदधि[समतिक्रान्त]कीर्तिरेषा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च सततफलाभिवृद्धै ॥ (l. 3) कृतं कर्मिणा गुग्गेन ॥

TRANSLATION.

After that he had himself built a temple like unto Mount Meru on the top of the Himavant through the manifold bliss of [his] good works, an upper chamber (*candraśālā*) delightful to the eye, was added to it with various porches (*maṇḍapa*) and numerous ornaments (*citra*) turned towards the east;[2] in front of it [was set this bull fat of cheeks and body, compact of breast and hump, the exalted vehicle of the god (Śiva). This is the glorious work of the illustrious Meru-varman [famous] over the four oceans, [tending] continually to increase the [spiritual] fruit of his parents and himself. Made by the workman Gugga.

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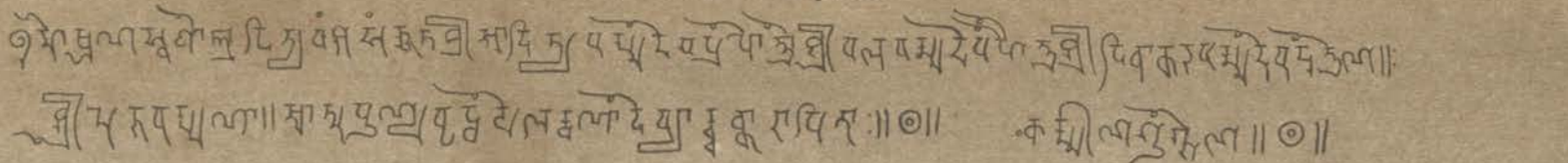
[1] Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 288, Nirmand copper-plate inscription, l. 1. Cf. also p. 27, n. 5.

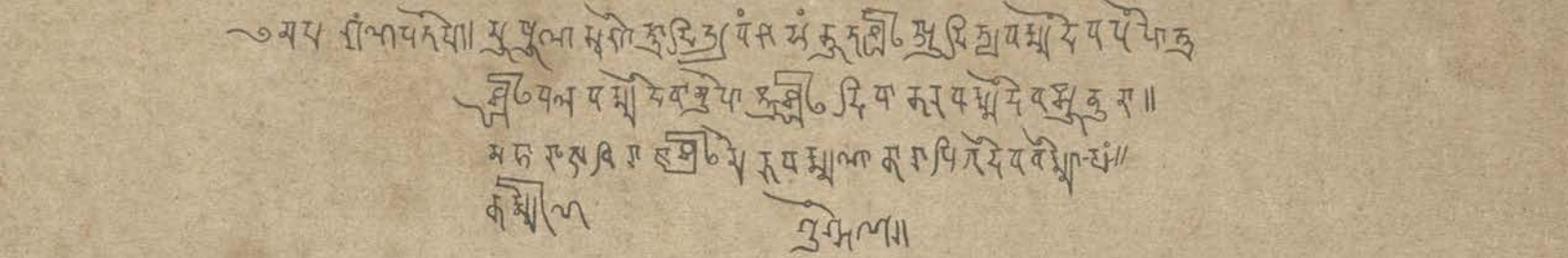
[2] The rendering of the third *pāda* of the first stanza is problematic. For the term *navanābha nāma* (if this is the correct reading) I cannot offer any plausible explanation. Possibly it stands for *nayanabhirāma* or perhaps *navanābha* ought to be *navagarbha*. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 71. Nor is it clear what is meant by *candraśālā* and *prāggrīvaka*.

Brahmor and Chatrārhī Image Inscriptions.

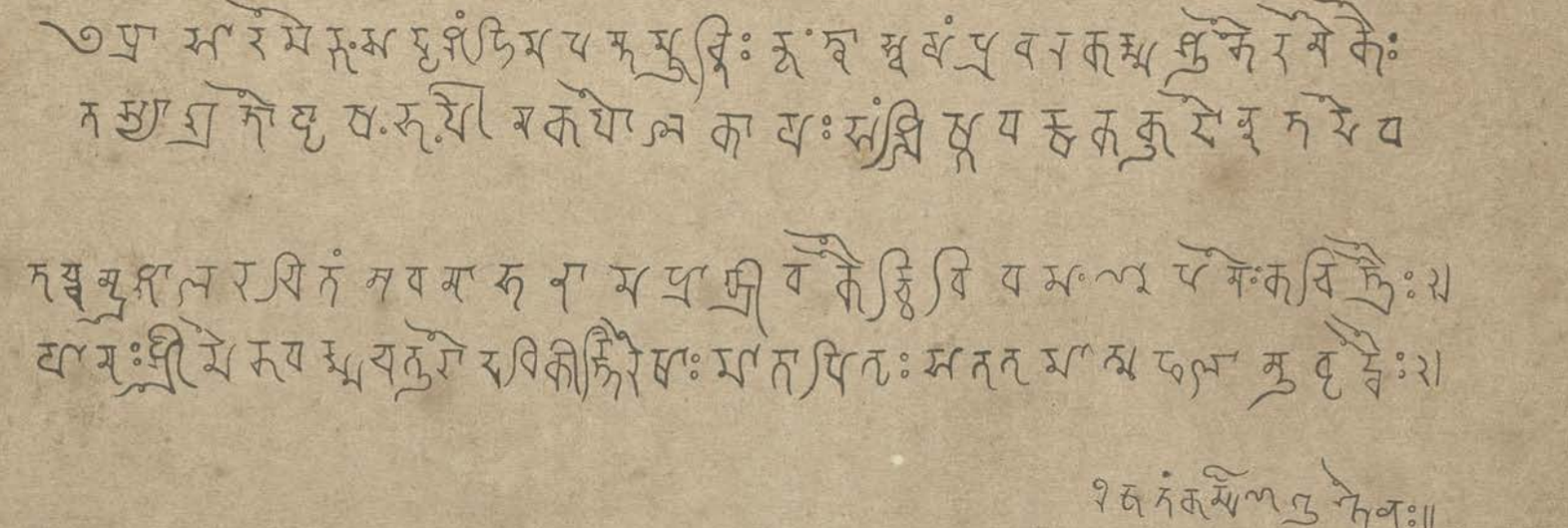
Lakṣaṇā Image Inscription.



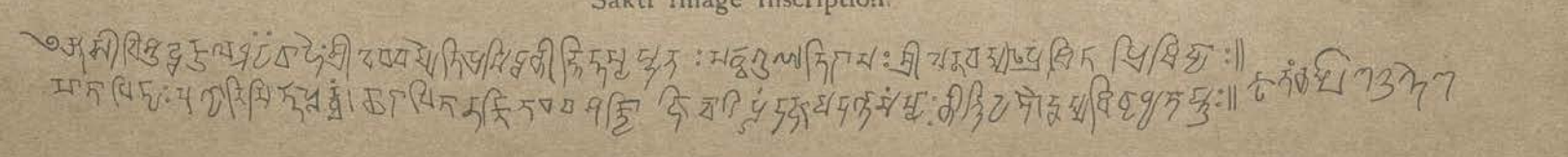
Gaṇeśa Image Inscription.



Nandi Image Inscription.



Śakti Image Inscription.



SCALE 0·375

PLATE X.

No. 8.—ŚAKTI IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE X.)

The inscription on the image of Śakti Devī at Chatrāṛhī consists of two lines, each 1′ 3″ long. The maker's name is mentioned in a separate line of 3″ placed behind the former two. The engraving is inferior to that of the Brahmor inscriptions. The shape of the letters which measure only from $\frac{3}{8}$″ to $\frac{1}{2}$″ in the average, is indistinct and the value of several of them uncertain. The inscription, moreover, exhibits the same want of grammatical knowledge on the part of its author as that on the bull Nandi discussed above.

TEXT.

ओं आसो गिशुद्धकुलधुर्यवाहो श्रोदेववर्म्मेति प्रसिद्धकीर्त्ति र्त्तस्यसुत: सर्व्वगुणातिराम: श्रीमेरु-वर्म्मा प्रथित प्रिथिव्या: ॥ (l. 2) मातापितृ: पुण्यनिमित्तपूर्व्वं। कारापिता भक्तिता एव (?) शक्ति जित्वा रिपूं दुर्जयदुर्गसंस्था कीर्त्तिर्यशोधर्म्म-विवृध्यतायु: ॥ (l. 3) कृतं कर्म्मीण गुग्गेण ॥

CORRECTED READING.

ओम् ॥ आसीद्विशुद्धकुलधुर्यवाह: श्रीदेववर्मेति प्रसिद्धकीर्ति:। तस्य सुत: सर्वगुणाभिराम: श्रीमेरुवर्मा प्रथित[यशा:] पृथिव्याम् ॥ (l. 2) मातापितृपुण्यनिमित्तं पूर्वं कारिता भक्तित एव शक्ति:। जित्वा रिपून्दुर्जयदुर्गसंस्थाङ्कीर्तियशोधर्मविवर्धितायु: ॥(l. 3)कृतं कर्मिणा गुग्गेन ॥

TRANSLATION.

There was an eminent chief of a pure race, the illustrious Deva-varman of celebrated fame. His son, charming by every virtue, [is] the illustrious Meru-varman, renowned on the earth. First, for the sake of the spiritual merit of his parents, he, out of devotion, caused the image of Śakti to be made, after having conquered [his] foes in their invincible strongholds, he who has prolonged his life by glory, fame and religious merit.

No. 9.—GŪṀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTA AṢĀḌHA-DEVA.

(PLATE XI.)

Gūṁ[1] (map Guh) is situated on the ancient road from Chambā city to Brahmor, which follows the hill slopes along the right bank of the river Rāvī. It was once the head-quarters of a *pargaṇā* of the same name which, together with the former *pargaṇā* of Beḷj (map Bailj), is now included in the Lilh *pargaṇā*. The State *kōṭhī* of Gūṁ is still extant. At some distance from it there is a Devī shrine surrounded by a considerable number of *liṅgas*. Tradition holds that their number once amounted to 101. On the same spot near the edge of the precipice a squared stone is found 3′ 2″ long and broad, by 9″ in height. Apparently it once served the purpose of a *liṅga* stand. On the front of this slab the inscription is cut in bold and well-defined letters which measure from $\frac{3}{8}$″ to $1\frac{1}{2}$″. It consists of four lines varying from 15″ to 18″ in length.

[1] As a generic name *gūṁ* (गूं) means "a chestnut tree."

The character is similar to that of Meru-varman's inscriptions, but in some respects it represents a more ancient type. Post-consonantic *e* is expressed by a stroke in front of the consonant and not by a flourish over it. In the same way the vowel-sign *o* consists of two strokes, one before and the other after the consonant. The *akṣara m* is not provided with a loop as in the Brahmor inscriptions. On the contrary, the *akṣara s* has a loop and the *u* in *su* is expressed by a downward continuation of the vertical stroke, as in the early Gupta inscriptions. On the whole the character resembles more that of the seventh than that of the eighth century. The syllable *oṁ* is rendered by a symbol; in the first line we meet with the sign for *upadhmānīya*.

The points just-noted are the more remarkable, as the inscription refers itself to the reign of Meru-varman, and cannot, therefore, be separated by any considerable space of time from his epigraphical records. The purport of the Gūṁ inscription is that Aṣāḍha-deva, a feudatory (*sāmanta*) of Meru-varman, built at Śiva-pura a temple dedicated to Śaṅkalīśa. This conclusion cannot be said to be absolutely certain, owing to the language of the inscription, which shows the same disregard of grammatical and metrical rules as we have noticed in the Brahmor and Chatrāṛhī inscriptions.

TEXT.

ओं मोषीणादित्यवङ्ग X परमशिवनतो क्षत्त्रमाद्यत्तशुद्धः ।

(l. 2) श्रीमेरोवर्म्मदेव कमलकिसलयाङ्गुल्य देवस्य पादा ।

(l. 3) सामन्त अषाढदेव सुतपितरजनोर्व्रण्डसेवाप्रसादा ।

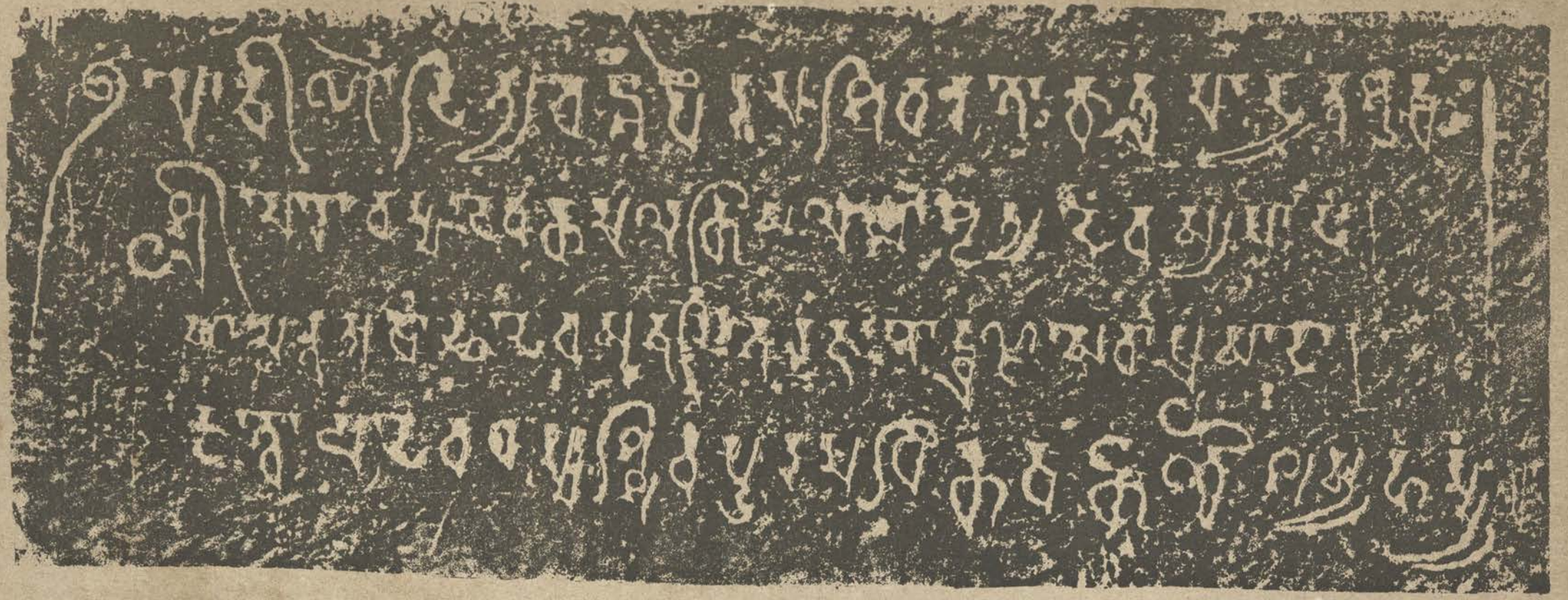
(l. 4) कृत्वोयं देवधर्म्मशिवपुरमधिक षङ्कलीशस्य हर्म्यं ॥

The inscription, as it stands, does not yield any sense. We can only attempt to discuss what its author can have meant by the curious succession of compounds it consists of. First of all it should be noted that it is composed in poetry. It consists of one stanza of four *pādas* in the *Sragdharā* metre—each *pāda* occupying one line of the inscription. There can be little doubt that *Moṣīṇādityavaṅga* (or perhaps °*vaṁśa*) is intended to convey the same meaning as the expression *Moṣūṇagottrādityavaṁśasaṁbhūta* used in the Lakṣaṇā and Gaṇeśa inscriptions of Brahmor. The following compound *paramaśivanato* is clear; but it is difficult to say what is meant by *kṣattramādyattaśuddhaḥ*. In any case these three compounds must belong to the name *Śrī-Merovarmmadeva* in the second line, in which the poet has taken the liberty of changing *Meru* into *Mero* for the sake of the metre.

The second line will become intelligible if we place the word *pāda* (or *pādaṁ?*) immediately after *Śrī-Meruvarmma-deva*, by which the genitive *devasya* becomes superfluous. The word *āśṛtya*, which stands either for *āśritya* or for *āśrita*[1] connects the two hemistichs syntactically. The following compound *Sāmanta-Aṣāḍha-deva* which shows a curious ignorance of the most primitive *saṁdhi* rule, ought to stand in the instrumental case. It is to be connected with the past participle *kṛto* in the last line. The rest of the third line, as it stands, is unintelligible.

[1] For a similar mistake *cf.* inscr. No. 15, l. 24.

Gūṁ Stone Inscription.



SCALE 0·50

Proḷī-rā-gaḷā Rock Inscription.

SCALE 0·25

Perhaps it is meant for *surapitṛjanavṛndasevāprasādāt.* The impossible form *kṛtvo* in the last line is a mixture of *kṛto* and *kṛtvā.* Evidently the past participle *kṛto* is wanted, its subject being the expression [*a*]*yaṁ devadharmmaś,* immediately following it, for which, as in the Śakti image inscription, *deyadkarmaś* is to be read. The last member of the next compound *Śivapuramadhike* is not clear. The only explanation I can offer is that *madhika* (the last syllable ought to be long) stands for *madhye* or for *madhyagaṁ.* The genitive *Ṣaṅkalīśasya* belonging to *harmmyaṁ* is very strange. Can it stand for *Śaṅkareśasya?* We arrive consequently at the following reading which approximately must represent what the would-be poet employed by Sāmanta Aṣāḍha wished to express.

CORRECTED READING.

ओम् ॥ मोषूणादित्यवंश-[संभूत]-परमशिवनत . . . . . शुद्ध-

(l. 2) श्रीमेरुवर्मदेव-पादकमलकिसलयाश्रितेन

(l. 3) सामन्ताषाढ-देवेन सुरपितृजनवृन्दसेवा-प्रसादात्

(l. 4) कृतोऽयं देयधर्मः शिवपुरमध्यगं षङ्कलीशस्य हर्म्यम्

TRANSLATION.

The feudatory chief Aṣāḍha-deva resorting to the lotus-like feet of the illustrious prince Meru-varman (that scion of the house of Moṣūṇa and Sūrya, and worshipper of the most exalted Śiva), has made this pious gift—a shrine of Ṣaṅkaliśa in the midst of Śivapura—thanks to the service [rendered] to the multitude of the gods and the ancestral spirits.

No. 10.—TUR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.

(Plate XII.)

The village of Tur belongs to the Basu *pargaṇā* and is situated 1½ miles east of south from Basu Kōṭhī on the road which leads by the Baleni Pass to Shāhpur and Rihlu in Kāṅgṛā. At a short distance beyond the shrine of Stūhr Nāg before entering the village, the road passes a boulder bearing carvings and inscriptions. The locality where it is found is known by the name of Tārsruā and the stone itself is usually designated as *likhā paṭā* "the inscribed slab." No traditions seem to be connected with it.

The centre of the slightly slanting surface is occupied by an elaborate square figure supposed to be a magic spell. Under it we find the effigies of a caparisoned elephant and two horses running, as it were, in the direction of the Pass. Over the front horse is the word *Śrī* enclosed in a rectangle. Between this and the central figure we read: *Śrī-Harismetaṁ,* the meaning of which I cannot explain. Most probably it is a proper name, but the last member of the compound is puzzling. It is noteworthy that the last syllable is written under the line, evidently because the central figure came in the way. This must, therefore, have been carved before the inscription.

Over the second horse are three lines apparently without any connection with each other. The first line measures 3′ 1″ in length and consists of eleven *akṣaras* 3½″ to 8½″ high. I read it: *Oṁ svasti‖ Śrī-Tthakkikena likhitaṁ.* "Hail! Written by the illustrious Thakkika." The syllable following *Śrī* is doubtful, but it is very similar to the *akṣara ttha* found in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13) l. 7.[1] I suppose that in reality the name is Thakkika and that the form Tthakkika is due to a confusion of Śrī-Thakkika with Śrīmat-Thakkika. The second line has only four *akṣaras* 2¼″ to 4¼″ high, and reads: *Magarabrū,* which can be hardly anything else but a proper name. It is possible that the first syllable is in reality *na,* as in the inscriptions of Meru-varman this *akṣara* can scarcely be distinguished from *ma.* The third line contains three *akṣaras* of very large size: *Śrī-Lakṣmī.* The first *akṣara* is no less than 14¼″ high. It is impossible to decide whether the word "Lakṣmī" here indicates the goddess of good fortune and forms part of the charm, or is to be taken as the personal name of some female. Nor can we make out who "the illustrious Thakkika" was by whom these lines and presumably the accompanying figures also were engraved. It is, however, noteworthy that an inscription (No. 17) incised on the pedestal of an image found in the same village of Tur, contains the proper name, "Śrī-Thakkika." The character of this epigraph which exhibits a much later type than that of the rock-inscription precludes the possibility of the two names indicating the same person. But the occurrence of the proper name "Thakkika" elsewhere supports my explanation of the *ttha* in the word *Śrī-Tthakkikena.* I may add that the image inscription contains also the invocation *Oṁ namo Śrī-Tthakkikasvāmi-pādāḥ,* in which apparently the same orthographical mistake is made.

The later Thakkika was a local Rāṇā; possibly the older one was his ancestor, as there are instances of a name recurring in the same family. Most probably the two inscriptions are separated by a space of time of nearly three centuries. The rock inscription is written in the same character as Meru-varman's inscriptions and may be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century, whereas the younger Thakkika was a vassal of Rājā Vidagdha and must therefore have lived about the end of the 10th century.

No. 11.—PROḶĪ-RĀ-GAḶĀ ROCK INSCRIPTION OF MṚTYUÑJAYA-VARMAN.—(Plate XI.)

Proḷī-rā-gaḷā is the name of a narrow mountain-passage (*gaḷā* literally "neck") through which the road from Basu leads over the Kankōṭ range, and thence by the Kankōṭ Pass (the Bowar Pass of the Survey Map) over the Dhaulā Dhār to Rihlu in the Kāṅgṛā District. The locality evidently owes its name to its resemblance to a gate (*proḷī*).[2] There are no traces of buildings on the spot, but at a distance of 2 miles the ruins of a fort are said to exist. In these days the Kankōṭ road is but little used owing to its difficult nature. It is, therefore, the more

[1] Cf. also the ligature *nthyā* in *paripanthyā* (No. 15, l. 17.)

[2] On the meaning of this word and its connection with Sanskrit *pratolī* and Hindī *paul(ī)* see my note *J. R. A. S.* for 1906, pp. 539 ff.

Tur Rock Inscription.

SCALE 0·25

remarkable to find a rock-inscription here, proving the fact of its having been in existence for a thousand years at least.

The inscription which has to be reached by means of a ladder is cut on a rock at the side of the road. It consists of two lines 3′ 1″ and 3′ 2″ respectively in length. The letters vary from 1″ to 2″ in size and, though irregular in shape, are distinct and legible throughout, except where the stone is broken. This is unfortunately the case in the latter half of the second line, where the letters are crossed by a number of cracks which have disfigured several of them beyond recognition.

Owing to this circumstance, I have not been able to make out the exact purport of the document. It seems to record the appointment of a certain Rāja-putra (whose name is illegible) to some post. This at least seems to follow from the word *purokṛtaḥ* (read *puraskṛtaḥ*) at the end of the second line. The main interest, therefore, lies in the first line which is legible throughout and contains the name of a Rājā which I read: *Mṛtyuñjaya-varmma-deva*. The use of the royal titles and of the cognomen *varman* renders it highly probable that the person bearing that name was one of the early rulers of Brahmor or Chambā, though his name does not occur in the *Vaṁśāvalī*.

The inscription is undated, but its character bears a close resemblance to that used in the records of Vidagdha's reign. This is particularly striking in the shape of the *s* which has a pouch and not an angular loop as is regularly found in later Śāradā inscriptions. The *r* also presents a type peculiar to the 10th century. Post-consonantic *e* is expressed by a horizontal stroke running from the top of the *akṣara* towards the proper right.

On the strength of palæographical evidence we may, therefore, assign the Proḷī-rā-gaḷā inscription to the 10th century of our era. Assuming Mṛtyuñjaya-varman to have been a ruler of the house of Mūṣaṇa, the question arises whether he is to be placed before or after Sāhilla. In other words, was his capital Brahmor or Chambā? Geographically both alternatives are possible, as the Basu *pargaṇā* presumably belonged to the ancient Brahmor State. Two points may be noticed. From Sāhilla onwards the *Vaṁśāvalī* becomes fairly reliable, whereas for the preceding period it cannot claim the same degree of historical value. It is, therefore, more likely that a name should have been left out in the earlier portion. Secondly, it is noteworthy that all documents after Sāhilla are dated, whereas those of the period previous to his reign are not. In this respect the Proḷī-rā-gaḷā inscription agrees with the earlier records. Weak though these arguments are, they perhaps justify us, in the absence of other evidence, in provisionally placing Mṛtyuñjaya-varman between Meru-varman and Sāhilla, but considerably nearer to the latter from whom he cannot have been separated by more than a century.

TEXT.

स्वस्ति महाराजाधिराज[1]-परमेश्वर-श्रीमृत्युञ्जयवर्म्मदेव ॥

(l. 2) यथादेवाज्ञया परवक्रस्या[2] राजपुत्त चु(?) . . . त . [खत] लघ पुरोक्षतः

[1] The stroke following *m* cannot be part of the inscription. The *ā* stroke of *hā* is uncertain.

[2] This word I cannot explain; the third *akṣara* is perhaps *ca*.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Mṛtyuñjaya-varman. By order of the king the Rājaputra . . . . has been appointed . . .

No. 12.—SVĀIṂ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀNAKA BHOGAṬA.

(PLATE XIII.)

This inscription is cut on the base of a stone image of Devī Aṣṭabhujī which is placed in the village shrine of Svāiṁ (map Sai), a hamlet of the Himgiri *pargaṇā*, 1 mile east of Himgiri Kōṭhī. The Himgiri *pargaṇā* forms part of the Curāh *wazārat*. The shrine, which measures nearly 11′ 9″ by 11′ exteriorly, contains a cella or *gambhīrī* of nearly 4′ 4″ by 4′ in which the image is enshrined.

The statuette which is 3′ 3″ high and 1′ 10″ wide is carved on one side only. It represents the goddess in the act of slaying the evil demons. She is shown standing in the archer-attitude (Skr. *ālīḍhāsana*[1])—the favourite position of deities in their angry mood. She wears a diadem, heavy ear-pendants and various other ornaments. Her forehead is marked with the frontal eye. She is eight-armed, whence the name *Aṣṭabhujī* by which she is often indicated. With two hands she clasps her formidable weapon the trident (Skr. *triśūla*) on the prongs of which struggles a demon who still raises his sword for a desperate blow at the goddess. In her remaining three right hands she holds a long sword, a thunderbolt (Skr. *vajra*) and a sword-shaped mace. Two left hands hold a bell (Skr. *ghaṇṭā*) and a bow. With her eighth hand she seizes the hair of a second demon, armed with sword and shield, who struggles in vain to escape her grip. The two demons are no doubt the Asura kings, Śumbha and Niśumbha, whose destruction is extolled as one of the greatest deeds of Devī.[2]

The feet of the goddess are hidden behind a miniature balustrade formed by a row of eight dwarf pilasters. The two central ones support an arch under which a figurine, apparently male, is seated. It occupies the same position as Aruṇa the charioteer in images of Sūrya. The Buddhist goddess Vajra-varāhī "the She-boar of the Thunderbolt" is also accompanied by a similar figure, which is supposed to drive her team of seven hogs. But in the present case the meaning of this attendant figure is by no means clear. It is a frequent practice in Indian art to represent, at the feet of a divine image, a miniature effigy of the donor or donors of the sculpture. But such figurines are always shown in a much more respectful pose than is the case here. Otherwise we might take it to be a portrait of Rāṇā Bhogaṭa, the son of Somaṭa, who was the donor of the image.

On the front of the pedestal we see two ferocious lions devouring the body of the Buffalo demon, whose discomfiture is regarded as a no less famous exploit of Pārvatī than her victory over Śumbha and Niśumbha.[3] In plastic art she is usually

[1] Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique* (Paris, 1900) p. 67, n. 2.

[2] It is sung in Chapters IX and X of the *Durgā-saptaśatī* which forms part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. A reference to Pārvatī's victory over Śumbha and Niśumbha occurs in the last verse of the sixth act of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*.

[3] Cf. *Durgā-saptaśatī*, Chapters II and III.

Svāiṁ inscribed Devī Image.

HEIGHT 3' 3"

SCALE 0·25

represented in the act of piercing the Mahiṣāsura with her trident. An instance of this is the statue of Lakṣaṇā Devī at Brahmor. The presence of two lions on the base of the Svāiṁ image is surprising. It is true that, according to the texts, the lion of Pārvatī took an active part in the fighting, but we read only of one lion. I presume that the second lion here is due to the fact that in Indian sculpture a throne (Skr. *siṁhāsana*) is invariably supported by two such animals.

The inscription consists of two lines, which measure $20\frac{1}{2}''$ and $5\frac{1}{4}''$ respectively. The *akṣaras* are from $\frac{1}{2}''$ to $\frac{3}{4}''$ in length. They are clearly cut and legible throughout. The inscription is not dated but, on the strength of palæographical evidence, may be assigned to the 9th or 10th century of our era. The type of the letters with their elongated, mostly nail-headed and decoratively twisted strokes shows some similarity to that used in the inscriptions of Meru-varman. Especially the *k* and *t* with their twisted tails have an early type. Some of the letters, however, (*e.g. ṇ, ś* and *s*) exhibit a later stage of development. It may, therefore, be better described as a transition from the ornamental script of the 7th and 8th centuries to the early Śāradā, as found in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13).

The language is Sanskrit, but the number of grammatical errors is remarkable, considering the briefness of the record. In this respect also the Svāiṁ inscription reminds us of the epigraphs of Meru-varman. Here also we find the prakritism *kārāpitaḥ* for *kāritaḥ*. The meaning of the preceding word *bhaktā* is not clear. It can, of course, be connected with the immediately preceding *Bhagabhati*, which evidently stands for *Bhagavatī*. But after the name of the deity represented by the image one naturally expects a word meaning "an image." I do not see how *bhaktā* can be explained in this manner.[1] For the rest, the purport of the inscription is clear, notwithstanding the corruptness of the language. A difficulty remains with regard to the last word which is the name of the donor of the image. The reading is undoubtedly *Śrī-Bhogaṭesyaḥ*. The *visarga* may be eliminated. In ungrammatical inscriptions like the present we often find it used at random as a kind of ornament at the end of a sentence or word. But how to explain the vowel *e* in the last but one syllable. I presume that the author of the inscription hesitated between the instrumental *Bhogaṭena* and the genitive *Bhogaṭasya* and, by confusing the two, produced the impossible form *Bhogaṭesya*. Anyhow the word must be an *a* stem. Compare *Somaṭa* the name of the donor's father. Other instances of a man's name ending in *ṭa* are Āsaṭa (Nos. 25-27), Bhogaṭa (No. 15), Jāsaṭa (Nos. 28-29), Prakaṭa (No. 17, l. 3) and Surambhaṭa (No. 25, l. 16).[2]

The Svāiṁ inscription records the construction of the image of Bhagavatī, *i.e.* Devī, on which it is found, by order of a Rāṇā Bhogaṭa, the son of Somaṭa, born in the district of Keṣkindha. It is of interest as the earliest document in which the word *rājānaka* "a rāṇā" occurs. The expression "born in the district of Keṣkindha," if applied to Somaṭa,[3] does not necessarily imply that his son Bhogaṭa resided

[1] *Bhakta*, though a past participle, is used in an active sense.

[2] I quote, moreover, the following examples from other sources: Bappaṭa (*Rājat.* VII 482, 572 and in Bappaṭadevī V 282, 1290), Bhappaṭa (*Rājat.* IV 214), Cippaṭa (*Rājat.* IV 676, etc.), Dhammaṭa (*Rājat.* VII 618, etc.), Hembaṭa (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 190), Kalaṭa (*Rājat.* V 66), Muṅgaṭa (*Rājat* VII 589, VIII 1090), Saṅgaṭa (*Rājat.* VII 589 (P), VIII 1090, 2178), Senaṭa (*Rājat.* VII 482) and Varṇaṭa (*Rājat.* VI 90, etc.).

[3] Grammatically the compound *Keskindha-viṣayotpana(nna)* can, of course, be just as well applied to *Somaṭa-puttra, i.e.* to Bhogaṭa.

in that country. I feel, however, inclined to assume that this was the sense which the author of the inscription wished to convey, as Bhogaṭa was probably the hereditary Rāṇā of the tract round Svāiṁ. If so, this must have been the district designated by the name of Keṣkindha. It is impossible to say how far it extended, but, as the old baronies are said to have often corresponded with the modern *pargaṇās*, we may roughly say that, in all probability, Keṣkindha is the ancient name of the Himgiri *pargaṇā*. The name does not seem to have survived.

In the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13, ll. 3-4) mention is made of "a lord of Kiṣkindha" whose daughter Somaprabhā was married to Sātyaki, the son of Bhogaṭa, evidently a Rāṇā residing in the Sāu valley. I have little doubt that this Kiṣkindhikā is the same country which is called Keṣkindha in the Svāiṁ inscription. Possibly the *e* in the first syllable is due merely to a clerical error. This assumption, if correct, would render it the more probable that Kiṣkindha corresponds roughly with the Himgiri *pargaṇā*.[1] For it was only natural that the chief of Sāhō should intermarry with the family of a neighbouring Rāṇā.

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ भगभति भक्ता कारापितः श्रीकेष्किन्धविषयोत्पन-सोमटपुत्त-राजानक-सकलागुण-गणलंक्र (l. 2) त-शरीरा-श्रीभोगटेस्यः ॥

CORRECTED READING.

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ भगवती भक्ता कारिता श्री-किष्किन्धविषयोत्पन्न-सोमटपुत्र-राजानक-सकल-गुणगणालंक्र (l. 2)तशरीर-श्री-भोगटेन ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! [This image of] the revered (?) Bhagavatī[2] has been made by order of the Rāṇā, the illustrious Bhogaṭa, whose body is adorned with the full number of all virtues, the son of Somaṭa, born in the district of Kiṣkindha.

No. 13.—SARĀHAṆ PRAŚASTI.

(PLATE XV.)

The village of Sarāhaṇ is situated on the left bank of the Sāḷ rivulet opposite Sāhō (map Sāu), the head-quarters of a *pargaṇā* of the same name. The distance from Sāhō to Chambā City is 6½ miles as the crow flies, and about 8 miles by road. In the village temple of Sarāhaṇ—an insignificant little building of a type common in the Panjāb Hills—an inscribed stone was pointed out to me, remarkable both for its workmanship and excellent preservation. Since May 1908 the stone is preserved in the Chambā State Museum and is entered in the Museum catalogue as No. A, 1. The inscription is carved on the front and the back of the slab, the inscribed sides being 22″ in width and 6¼″ in height. It consists of twenty-two lines, of which eleven, each measuring 21″ in length, are found on the obverse and the

[1] There can hardly be any connection between this Kiṣkindha and the mythical realm of the monkey kings Sugrīva and Vālin which has given its name to the fourth canto of the Rāmāyaṇa.

[2] Bhagavatī is the feminine form of Bhagavān which is used to designate deities and deified saints, especially Buddha and Kṛṣṇa. The most correct rendering would be "Lord." Bhagavatī, therefore, is almost equivalent to "our Lady."

from the term *narendra* (v. 21) applied to him, and from that of *Devī* (v. 4), applied to his consort, that he belonged to the warrior caste. The names Bhogaṭa and Sātyaki do not occur in the genealogical list of the Chambā Rājās; nor is there in the epigraph itself any evidence that they belonged to the illustrious house of Mūṣaṇa. More probably they were local chiefs belonging to the class of Rāṇās to whom so many of our Chambā documents owe their existence. We have seen above that Kiṣkindha is the ancient name of the country round Himgiri. It was the seat of a Rāṇā's family, and it was evidently a daughter of that baronial house whose beauty is sung in the Sarāhaṇ eulogy.

The temple founded by Sātyaki is indicated as *deva-kulaṅ-kalaṅka-mukt-endu-lekh-āṅkita-śekharasya* (v. 21), and again in the final benedictory stanza Śiva is spoken of as *himaraśmiśekhara* (v. 22). From this it may be conjectured that the shrine, the foundation of which the inscription records, is not the poor and unimportant village-temple of Sarāhaṇ, but the *Śivālaya* of Sāhō, known by the name of Candrasekh (*Skr.* Candraśekhara). At first sight this building, with its high slate roof supported by white-washed pillars, presents quite a modern appearance. But on close examination it will be seen that the cella in which the *liṅga* is placed is undoubtedly ancient.

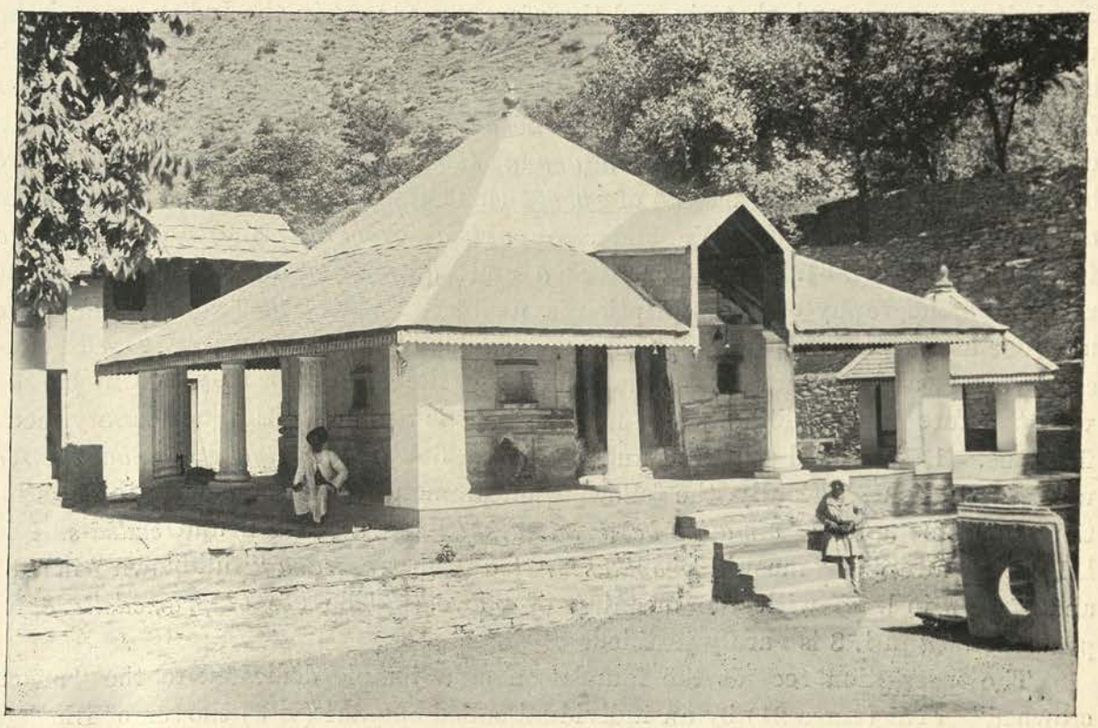


Fig. 24. Temple of Candrasēkh at Sāhō.

This cella, which measures 17′ 10″ outside and 12′ 7″ inside in both directions, is oriented east. It contains a large stone *liṅga* placed on a stand, 6′ 4″ square at the top, which is encased in copper sheeting. The walls of the temple are plain.

Śiva Figures on Candrasēkh Temple.

HEIGHT 2' 3"

HEIGHT 2' 3"

PLATE XIV.

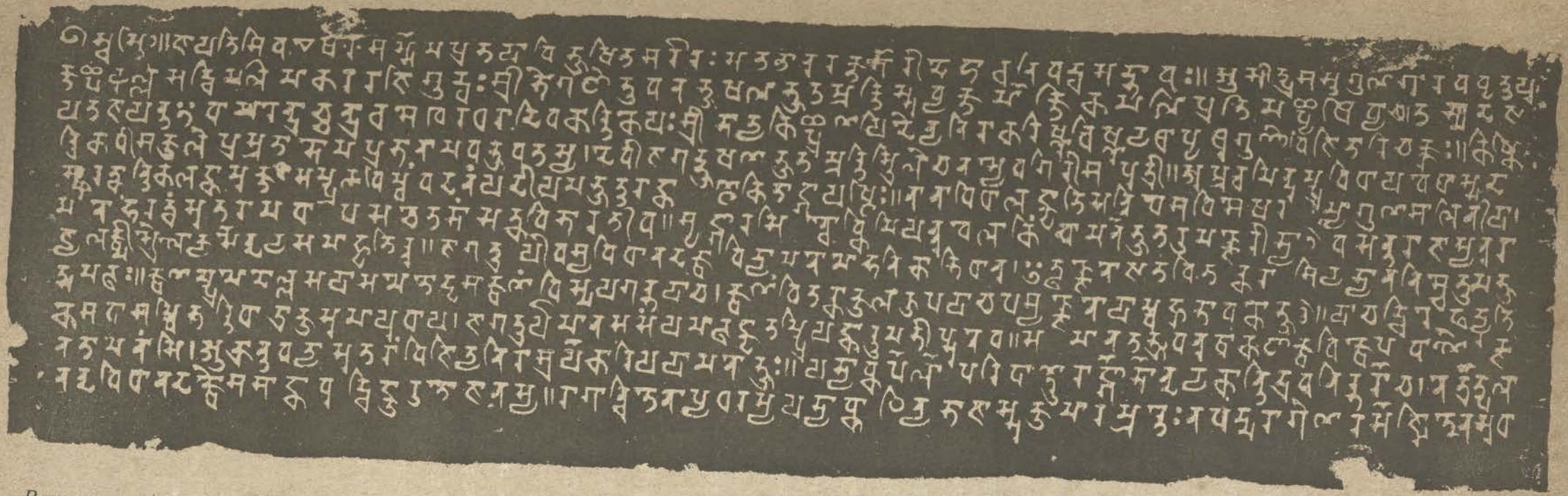
The north wall is pierced by an outlet for the sacrificial water which is provided with a gargoyle in the shape of a *makara* head. On the south, west and north sides there is an ornamental niche in the centre of the wall. That on the south is surmounted by the figure of a monkey and contains a stone slab which represents Narasiṁha disembowelling Hiraṇyakaśipu. On the east side are two niches, one on each side of the doorway.

The doorway is the most ornamental part of the temple. The doorlintel is supported by two pillars with round shafts and capitals of the pot-and-foliage type. The bracket-capitals are provided with supporting figurines. Both sides of the entrance are elaborately carved. The lower half of each doorjamb is decorated with a standing figure of Śiva, measuring 2′ 3″ in height (plate XIV). That to the right shows him in his angry form (Skr. *kruddha*), and that to the left in his benevolent mood (Skr. *śānta, prasanna*). The right-hand figure has three faces and six arms. With two hands he holds the ends of an elephant-headed snake swung over his head. The other two right hands hold a trident and an object which is perhaps the hilt of a sword or mace. The left hands hold the heads of two demons. The god wears a long necklace of human heads and, as sacred thread, a snake. He stands on a corpse and is attended by two miniature chowrie-carriers. The left-hand figure represents Śiva four-armed. In his right hands he holds a flower and a rosary, and in his left hands a trident and a waterpot. He is also accompanied by two chowrie-bearers. The roof and the verandah with its twelve neatly stuccoed pillars are said to have been built about A.D. 1900, after the temple had been damaged by a flood. In front of the temple is a sunk courtyard which contains a large stone slab pierced with an octagonal hole. Apparently it once belonged to the stand of a *liṅga*. On the other side of this courtyard opposite the temple, stands a large stone figure of Śiva's bull Nandi, 6′ 4″ high, which is entirely blackened with oil. It has very elaborate trappings, in which demon-heads are introduced, and a decorative coverlet carved with a row of geese on each side and an eight-petalled lotus on the top in the manner of a saddle. The bell, suspended from the neck of the animal, is broken on the proper left side. For the rest, the statue is well preserved. A male figurine, said to represent a cowherd, hangs at its tail. Such figures I have often noticed on Nandi images in the Panjāb Hills.

Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Candraśekhara temple to Sāhilla-varman. Though, in view of our inscription, this tradition must be rejected, it may be taken to afford an approximate date both for the temple and for the record of its construction. The circumstance that the inscription is undated points to its being one of the earlier epigraphs found in Chambā. Some peculiarities of the script confirm this conclusion. The *na* has a shape different from that found in other Śāradā inscriptions but very similar to that of the time of Meru-varman. It is also noteworthy that in *pā*, *mā* and *yā* the vowel-sign is attached to the consonant by means of a long horizontal stroke which does not touch the upright, in exactly the same manner as in the copper-plate grant of Vidagdha, Sāhilla's grandson. The inscription may, therefore, be assigned to the 10th century and to the time of Sāhilla or one of his immediate successors.

Sarāhan Prasasti.

Obverse.



Reverse.

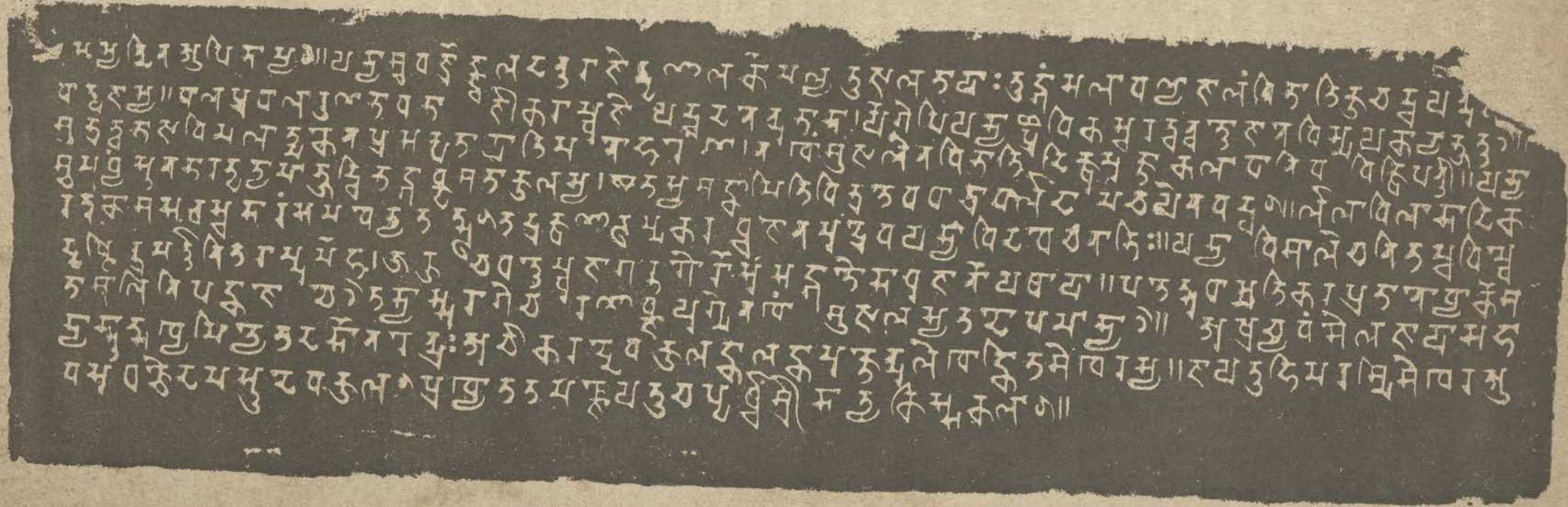


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PLATE XV.

(l. 14) शुभ्रत्व-भाजा विमलात्मकेन प्रसर्पता याति मनोहरेण।
नखांशु-जालेन विभाति दिक्षु मुक्ता-कलापानिव विक्षिपन्ती ॥ १६ ॥
यस्या(l. 15)श्च मध्यं स्तन-भार-भृत्या मा भूद्विभङ्ग× क्रशताकुलस्य।
एतस्य भङ्गामिति बिभ्रतेव[1] धात्रा वली-दाम-चयेन बद्धम्[2] ॥ १७ ॥
लीला-विलासादिक-(l. 16) रत्न-कोश-सर्वस्व-सारं समवेत्य तत्स्थम्।
तद्रक्षणार्थम्मकर-ध्वजेन मुद्रेव यस्या विदधे च नाभिः ॥ १८ ॥
यस्या विशाले च नितम्ब-बिम्बे[3] (l. 17) दृष्टिर्भ्रमन्ती नितरामुमोह।
ऊरू च धत्ते रुज-गर्भ-गौरौ सु-सङ्गतौ साधु-जनौ यथा यौ ॥ १९ ॥
पतेत्सुधासूति-कर-प्रतानो व्याकीर्ण (l. 18) ता-शालिनि पङ्कजे चेत्।
तस्यास्तरागे चरणाब्ज-युग्मे नखांशु-जालस्य तदोपमा स्यात् ॥ २० ॥
अप्रच्यवं शैलजया सहा(l. 19)स्यास्या[4]स्त्यमित्येतदसौ नरेन्द्रः।
अचीकरद्देवकुलङ्कलङ्क-मुक्तेन्दु-लेखाङ्कित-शेखरस्य ॥ २१ ॥
जयतु हिमरश्मि-शेखर आ-(l. 20)वसुधञ्चेदमस्तु देवकुलम्।
प्रख्याततमञ्जयतु च पृथ्वीं श्री-सात्यकिस्सकलाम् ॥ २२ ॥

TRANSLATION.

HAIL!

1. Victorious is Śiva, our Lord,[5] whose body is adorned with moon-light[6] and whose affection is fixed on [that] half of [his] body [consisting] of the ever-devoted Gaurī.

2. There was on the earth a man of laudable virtues, dignity and deportment pure like the sickle of the glittering shedder of brightness (the Moon), whose form was an ornament of the world and who resembled a jewel of very clear pearls.

3. From him was born—even as Jayanta from the Prince of the immortal (Indra) and Kārttikeya from Him who bears the half moon as his diadem (Śiva)—the illustrious Sātyaki who used to put away the sorrow of his dear ones—like unto Viṣṇu of abundant virtue and the victor over his enemies' host.

4. A daughter of the house of Kiṣkindhikā's Lord, Soma-prabhā by name, whose form was an ornament of the world, was his queen—even as the daughter of Himālaya (Durgā) [was the queen] of the three-eyed god (Śiva).

5. When the Creator had fashioned her face—a moon such as was never seen before, of ever sparkling splendour, devoid of blemish [and] full-orb'd—the hairs on his slender limbs stood on-end.[7]

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[1] The original has *vibhrateva.*

[2] Cf. Śrī-Mammaṭa quoted *Subhāṣitāvalī* 1557.

तन्वङ्ग्या गजकुम्भपीनकठिनोत्तुङ्गौ वहन्त्याः स्तनौ
मध्यः श्यामतरोऽपि यन्न झटिति प्राप्नोति भङ्गं विधा।
तन्मन्ये निपुणेन रोमलतिकोद्भेदापदेशादसौ
निःस्यन्दास्फुटलीहशुङ्खलिकया संदानितो वेधसा ॥

[3] The original has *nitamva-bimbe.* [4] The original has *stāt.*

[5] Literally "this Lord."

[6] An evident allusion to the name of the lady to whose praise the greater part of the poem is devoted.

[7] The Creator himself was in raptures over her face, which resembled and, at the same time, surpassed the moon as it was never obscured by eclipses or clouds, had no markings and was not subject to different phases.

6. She, exceeding lovely and rich in virtues, attained by the cunning disposition of various ornaments still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste, like the Muse of a good poet.[1]

7. "Can she be the high-tide of the ocean of passion, or a cluster of blossoms on the tree of love, or the presiding goddess of the realm of king Spring, or the sum of the beauty of the three worlds?

8. Or a spell named 'Mind-perplexing,' capable of rendering the three worlds obedient?" Thus lost in a multitude of doubts, one cannot decide about her.

9. Beholding her with an eye, now sparkling with joy, then pregnant with amazement, and then again confused with doubt, one was bewildered and full of imaginings.

10. She bears a lock (*lit.*, sling) of hair, glittering like a bee, made by the Creator—desirous, as it were, to show favour to the flower-armed One (Cupid) that he may fetter [with it] the hearts of the three worlds.

11. By her who, with the bent bow of her brows and with the arrows of her side-long glances, has attacked and completely conquered the hearts of mankind Cupid has been rendered shelter-less.[2]

12. Her cheeks, of a very pale hue and full of the essence of beauty and loveliness, capable of causing delight to the night-lotuses which are the eyes [of her admirers], make on the people the impression of the Hare-marked One (the Moon).

13. Her lip is not equalled by the ruby, though endowed with [a like] redness; for the one partakes of hardness[3] and has no moisture, the other is soft-shaped and nectar-distilling.

14. Her rows of teeth beam like diamonds; her slender arms are soft like lotus-stalks; her pair of breasts, high and watered with charm, appear [like a castle] of Cupid.[4]

15. That her lotus-like hands, possessing the ruddy appearance of young buds, remain expanded in the brightness of her moon-like face, even when in contact [with each other], caused amazement among the people.[5]

16. With the flashing net of her ray-like nails, gifted with whiteness, of spotless nature, exceeding captivating, she seems to scatter bundles of pearls in all directions.

17. The Creator who was afraid that, by carrying the burden of her breasts, her slender waist might break, has bound it with a girdle of multitudinous folds.[6]

18. The dolphin-bannered One (Cupid), perceiving that she contains exquisite treasures of grace and dalliance and such-like pearls, has, in order to guard these, shaped her navel like a seal.

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[1] According to the laws of Indian rhetoric, good poetry has three virtues (*guṇa*), namely vigour (*ojas*), serenity (*prasāda*), and sweetness (*mādhurya*). The ornaments (*alaṅkāra*) of speech are an essential part of it.

[2] Kāma dwells in the human hearts, whence his epithet *manobhū*.

[3] I have translated according to the proposed emendation.

[4] The words between brackets are missing in the original.

[5] The red lotus is expanded only in the day-time, and not when the moon shines.

[6] The three-folds (*trivali*) about the waist are considered a mark of female beauty. Cf. *Kumārasaṁbhava* I, 39. It is duly indicated on the Devī images of Meru-varman; cf. above, p. 138.

19. The eye roaming over her broad, round buttocks is wholly bewildered. She has thighs yellowish like the centre of a lotus, well-matched like two honest men.

20. If a tendril-like beam of the Nectar-shedder (the Moon) fell on a widely expanded red lotus, then were there an image of the net of her ray-like nails on her pair of rosy lotus-like feet.[1]

21. "May there be an unshaken friendship between her (Soma-prabhā) and the Mountain daughter (Durgā)." With this wish that prince (Sātyaki) had this temple built to Him whose diadem is marked with the stainless sickle of the Moon (Śiva).

22. Victorious be [Śiva] He, whose diadem is the cool-rayed One (the Moon) and may this temple be of high renown, as long as the wealth-bestowing One (the Earth) [endures] and may the illustrious Sātyaki conquer the entire Earth!

No. 14.—BRAHMOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YUGĀKARA-VARMAN.—(PLATE XVI AND FIG. 15.)

The copper-plate which contains this inscription is $13\frac{1}{2}''$ wide by $8\frac{1}{4}''$ high. The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{16}''$. The epigraph consists of nineteen lines, besides the subscription which is written vertically on the proper right margin. The plate is far from entire. The four corners are broken away, which has led to the loss of the symbol *om* and the first two *akṣaras* of the signature in the upper proper right corner, and of the last five *akṣaras* of the first line and of the upper portions of the last four *akṣaras* of the second line in the upper proper left corner. In the lower corners the first four *akṣaras* of each of the last two lines are missing to the proper right, whilst the ends of the last six lines are missing to the proper left in such a manner that of line 14 only the last *akṣara* is damaged and of line 19 nine *akṣaras* are lost. In the upper part of the plate a broken piece of $2\frac{1}{2}''$ by $1\frac{3}{4}''$ has been fastened on with clamps by which several *akṣaras* of the first four lines have been injured or destroyed. Most of the missing portions can be restored.

The inscription opens with a *Mālinī* stanza[2] in praise of Śiva, the soul of the universe (ll. 1-2). In the following passage (ll. 3-6) we find the names of the donor Yagākara-varman and of his parents Sāhilla and Nennā. Both Sāhilla and Yugākara[3] hold a prominent place in the *Vaṁśāvalī*, especially the former as founder of the town of Chambā and of the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The passage in which the grant is defined (ll. 6-10) is far from clear, owing partly to the number of proper names and what apparently are sanskritized vernacular words, and partly to the loose syntactical construction and absence of signs of punctuation.

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[1] As the flower of the red lotus is closed at night, the condition proposed by the poet is never fulfilled, in other words, the combination of her feet which are red like a lotus and of her nails glittering like the moon, is without a parallel. The name of the *alaṅkāra* used here is *atiśayokti*. Cf. *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* X 694.

[2] With this verse may be compared *Bhagav.* 7, 4.

भूमिरापो नलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च।
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा॥

[3] Yagākara is called Yugākara in the charter of his son Vidagdha (No. 15, l. 1) and Yugākāra in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (*śloka* 68, 78, 80 and 82). Cf. p. 100 n. 2.

It is of great interest that we meet here with the ancient name of Brahmor. It is Brahmapura and not Varmapura as assumed by Cunningham,[1] presumably on the authority of the *Vaṁśāvalī*. Mention is also made of the hospice (*maṭha*) of Khaṇī. This village, which still retains its name (map Kanī),[2] is situated east of the confluence of the Rāvī and the Budhal, on the ridge which forms the watershed between these two rivers. It is curious that up to the present day we find several rest-houses for travellers, shaded by mulberry trees at the spot where the road from Ulānsā to the village of Brahmor crosses the ridge near Khaṇī. They consist of open wooden pavilions called *biḷaṅg*. The other two villages mentioned are Viḍavikā, perhaps the modern Baṛei (map Barai) and Grima which is still known by the same name. Baṛei is situated about half-way between Brahmor and Khaṇī on the road which connects these two places. Grima lies above Baṛei on the ridge which separates the Rāvī and Budhal valleys. It is passed by the road which leads from Brahmor to Trehṭā, a tract on the left bank of the Upper Rāvī. In none of these villages any traditions seem to exist regarding rent-free land having been situated there. It is, therefore, impossible to identify the fields described in the title-deed and to interpret the passage satisfactorily. There is, however, above Grima a field, "Kuṭī" by name, which, I believe, may be identified with the *Kuṭikā* of the inscription.[3] Vernacular names, it should be noticed, are regularly sanskritized by adding the termination *ka* (cf. beneath *kolhika*). The "Kuṭī" field belongs at present to the Gaddis Juāhrī and Bhaṇḍārī. It is said to yield two *piṛās* in two years, namely, a crop of wheat (*kanak*) and a crop of buckwheat (*bharēs*). This would well agree with the statement in the inscription that the *Kuṭikā* field yielded 1 *piṭaka*, that is, annually. This Sanskrit *piṭaka* is the modern *piṛā*, which is the twentieth part of a *khāri* and consists of 20 *māṇīs*, a *māṇī* being equivalent to 2 *pakkā sēr*. A *piṛā* consequently amounts to 40 *sēr*.[4] The term *vāpya* may either be connected with the Sanskrit root *vap-* "to sow" and rendered as "arable land" or it may be derived from *vāpī* (tank) and explained as "land watered from tanks." The latter interpretation seems to me preferable as we have a parallel in the word *kolhika*. This word is evidently sanskritized *kōlhī*, which in Chambā indicates an irrigated field used for rice cultivation. It frequently occurs in the vernacular portions of the Chambā title-deeds of the Muhammadan period. The word is derived from *kuhl(a)* "a channel," Skr. *kulyā*, Kaśm. *kul*.[5]

Vāpya would, therefore, correspond with Persian *chāhī* from *chāh* (well) and *kolhika* with Persian *nāhrī* from *nahr* (canal). The second member of the proper name *Śabda-bagga* is evidently a vernacular term, *bag* meaning "a field." It also occurs in Khani-bagga and Prāha-bagga, names of fields mentioned in Vidagdha's copper-plate grant (No. 15, l. 13). Now-a-days it is still used in the names of fields

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[1] *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, p. 110, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 141.

[2] Skr. *khani* means "a mine."

[3] In the Kuḷū dialect the generic word *kuṭ* means, "cultivated land lying at a high elevation yielding in the course of two years only two crops, buckwheat followed by wheat." Cf. Diack, *The Kulu Dialect of Hindi* (Lahore, 1896), p. 75.

[4] A *piṛā* is said to be equivalent to a *drōṇ* (Skr. *drōṇa*) and a *māṇī* to a *path* (Skr. *prastha*). The *path* is the unit used in Kulū for measuring grain. Cf. *A. R. A. S.* 1903-04, pp. 263 f. also *Rājat.* IV 203.

[5] Cf. Diack, *op. cit.* i. v. *khol*.

such as, "Hoḷā-bag" in Grima, "Sat-bag" in Maḷkoṭā and "Bag" alone as the name of a field at Khaṇī. In Brahmor *bagṛī* is used to denote a field in general.[1]

The donee of Yugākara's grant was the god Narasiṁha, the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, whose image had been erected by Queen Tribhuvana-rekhā, perhaps the consort of the donor. There can be little doubt that this is the same image which is still worshipped in one of the ancient temples of Brahmor (Plate VIII *b*). "The figure," Cunningham[2] says, "is seated on a Singhāsan or lion throne, and is remarkable for its ferocious aspect and horrible wide jaws. There are traces of an inscription on the pedestal, but the letters are so much decayed that I was obliged to give up the attempt to copy it." In the *Vaṁśāvalī* (*śloka* 45) the Narasiṁha temple along with the others is ascribed to Meru-varman, but this can hardly be correct. The temple is no longer in possession of the lands described in the title-deed, and the copper-plate has now been deposited in the Chambā State Museum.

The concluding portion of the inscription contains no less than six stanzas—all in the *Anuṣṭubh* (*śloka*) metre—regarding the *dānadharma*. Then follow the date, the 10th year—presumably of Yugākara's reign—the name of the messenger (*dūta*) and that of the writer, the latter partly missing, and finally the subscription of the donor.

The language of Yugākara's grant is far from correct. Altogether we count in it more than fifty mistakes. A few of these errors are evidently due to want of care on the part of the engraver who left out syllables or altered them. Thus we find *tava* (l. 2) for *Bhava*, *prayacha* for *prayacchatu* (l. 14), *tad* for *etad* (l. 16); *pālapālanānā* (l. 15) for *pālanāt=paramaṁ*; *anodakeśu rane śupka-* (l. 18) for *anudakeṣu vaneṣu śuṣka-*; *tra kṣapaṭika* (l. 19) for *trākṣapaṭalika*. The frequent omission of the *visarga* and *anusvāra* may also be partly attributed to the engraver. Instances are *pādapa* (l. 5), *va* (l. 11), *janapadānā* (l. 11), *sarvai* (l. 13), *vaśe* (l. 14), *dharma* (l. 15), *sabīja* (l. 17), *taḍāgānā* (l. 17) and *-māliṇī* (l. 17). On the other hand, *sūyakṛtāṁ* (l. 17) ought to be *sūryakṛtā*. But the great majority of mistakes, no doubt, result from the ignorance of the author of the document. Trespasses against the *saṁdhi* rules are very frequent, e.g. *devyodara-* (l. 4) for *devyudara* or *devyā udara*; *niyogasthām* (l. 10) for *niyogasthān*; *savāsā* (l. 11) for *savāsān*; *agrahāratveti* (l. 12) for *agrahāratva iti*; *paramo svarga* (l. 15) for *paramaḥ svargo*. The final consonants of terminations are often missing, e.g., *madhyā* (l. 7), *prāmānyā* (l. 13), *asmi* (l. 14), *kaści* (l. 14), *bhave* (l. 14), *vyatikrame* (l. 15), *pālanā* (l. 15), *ci* (l. 16). Wrong terminations are used in *bhāge* (l. 14), *samutpanne* (l. 14), *pālanā* (l. 16), *loke* (l. 17). The form *vasāpayatu* is a prakritism like the past participle *kārāpita* of Meru-varman's inscriptions. Substitution of *ṇa* for *na* in *Triṇayana* (l. 12), *Tribhuvaṇa* (l. 12) and *-māliṇī* is due to the influence of the vernacular, likewise the substitution of *śa* for *sa* in *śāśana* (ll. 13 and 15). The double consonant is replaced by the single one in *bhaṭāraka* (ll. 3 and 5), *bhaṭārikā* (l. 4) and [*da*]*tvā* (l. 17).

[1] The word *bag* is possibly derived from Skr. *varga* meaning "group, section, division."

[2] Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, p. 110.

TEXT.

स्वस्तिः ॥ ओं गणपतये नमः ॥ अ ◡ ◡ सलिल-वह्नि-व्योम-वायून्तरात्म ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ (l. 2) पुराण स्त्राङ्ग-संभूत-योने। हर तव शिव शर्व अम्बकेशान रुद्र त्रिणयन वृषभाङ्का- (l. 3) नन्तमूर्ते नमस्ते ॥ श्री-चण्पका-वासात्परमब्रह्मण्य-देव-द्विज-गुरु-भक्त-परमभट्टारक-म (l. 4) हाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमत्साहिल-देव-पादानुध्यात-परमभटारिका-महाराज्ञी-श्री-नेत्रा देव्योदर-समुत्प (l. 5) न्नो एकारातिचक्र-निर्मूलन-महादान-सलिल-सेतु-समभिर्धित-यशX पादपः ॥ परमभटारक-महाराजा- (l. 6) धिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्यगाकरवर्म-देवX कुशली स्वशास्यमान-ब्रह्मपुर-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-विडविका- (l. 7) ग्राम-प्रतिबद्ध-पूर्वं खणी-मठस्य कोल्हिक सत्क-भू २ एषां मध्या हरिहल्ल-रांकिल-स्वतस्य प्रविष्टं शब्द-बग्ग (l. 8) नाम क्षेत्र तस्य परिवर्त दत्तं ग्रिम-ग्रामे चन्दि आकुटनागविक-सत्क-रहङ्ग-सुत-गण-भुच्यमाना कुटिका-वाप्ये- (l. 9) य धाना-पिटकमेक दतम् (?) तथा खणी-मठस्य-सन्निकृष्ट-यमलिका-शाकवाटिका तत्र वाप्ये पिटक-द्वय (l. 10) मङ्गत ॥ उभौ कुटिका-सहित पि ३ तथा धारुवाटिकार्धच। सर्वानेव नियोगस्थां राज राजानक-राजस्थानी-(l. 11) य सर्वं-सवासा बोधयत्यस्तु व संविदितम् प्रतिवासि-जनपदान भागिकादीनां साष्टादश-प्रकृत्यादीनां महा- (l. 12) राज्ञी-श्री-त्रिभुवणरेखा-देव्या प्रतिष्ठित-नर सिंहस्य[2] योमलकंतस्या प्रतिग्रहेणाग्रहारत्वेति प्रतिपादितम् (l. 13) विदित्वा कीर्तितानुकीर्तितै सर्वैं राजपुरुषैर उमन्तव्यम् यतो स्मत्प्रदत्त-शासन-प्रामान्या वसतु वसाप- (l. 14) यतु भागेन प्रयत्न नकेन चित्परिपन्थना कार्या। अस्मि वशे समत्पन्ने यX कश्चि नृपतिर्भवे तस्याहं ह[स्त-] (l. 15) लग्ने स्मि शासनं मा व्यतिक्रमे। पालनात्परमो धर्म पाल-पालनाना तपः पालना परमो स्वर्ग गरी — — (l. 16) न पालना। *यत्किंचि कुरुते पापं जन्म-प्रभृति मानवः तन्नोचर्म-मात्रेण भूमिहर्ता* न शुद्ध्यते। *फाल्गुष्ट — — — (l. 17) त्वा सबीजा ससा-मालिणी। यावत्सूय-क्षता लोके* तावत्स्वर्गे महीयते। *तत्वागाना सहस्रेण — — — — — — (l. 18)* — — — — कोटि-प्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुद्ध्यते। अनोदकेशु रने शुष्क-कोटर-वासिशु कृष्ण-स — — — — — — — (l. 19) — — — — न्ति ये ॥ संवत् १० वैशाख वति १० दूतो च क्षपटिक श्री-विवखलखित कायस्थ-जा — — —

(l. 20) — — यगाकरवर्म-देव-स्वहस्तः ॥

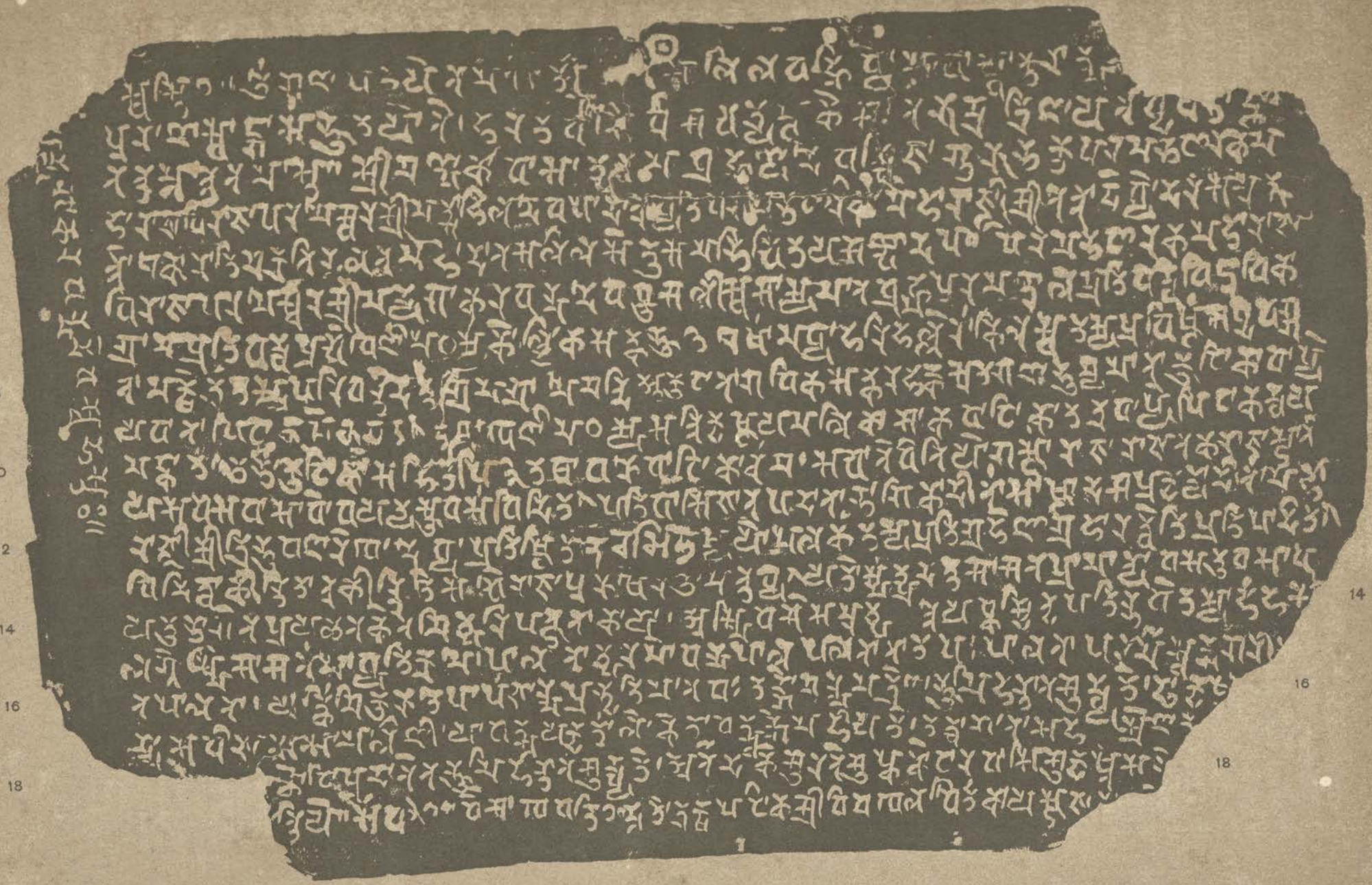
CORRECTED READING.

ओं स्वस्तिः ॥ ओं गणपतये नमः ॥ अवनि-सलिल-वह्नि-व्योम-वायून्तरात्म ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ (l. 2) पुराण स्त्राङ्ग-संभूत-योने। हर भव शिव शर्व अम्बकेशान रुद्र त्रिनयन वृषभाङ्का- (l. 3) नन्तमूर्ते नमस्ते ॥ श्री-चण्पका-वासात्परमब्रह्मण्य-देव-द्विज-गुरु-भक्त-परमभट्टारक-म (l. 4) हाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमत्साहिल-देव-पादानुध्यात-परमभट्टारिका-महाराज्ञी-श्री-नेत्रा-देव्युदर-समुत्प- (l. 5) न्नो ऽने[3]कारांति-चक्र-निर्मूलन-महामान-सलिल-सेतु-समभिवर्धित-यशX-पादपः परम-भट्टारक-महाराजा- (l. 6) धिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्यगाकरवर्म-देवX कुशली स्वशास्यमान-ब्रह्मपुर-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-विडविका- (l. 7) ग्राम-प्रतिबद्ध-पूर्वं खणी-मठस्य कोल्हिक-सत्क-भू २ एषां

[1] The *akṣaras* of this word are partly damaged, but the reading is certain.

[2] This word, except the last *akṣara*, has evidently been added at a time subsequent to the engraving of the grant.

[3] The *akṣara* which I read *ne* is not clear and has almost the shape of *e*. But on account of the preceding ending, I take it to be *ne*, in which the vowel-stroke has become amalgamated with the letter proper.



SCALE 0·75

मध्याङरिहल्ल-रांकिल-सुतस्य प्रविष्टं शब्दवग- (l. 8) नाम क्षेत्रं तस्य परिवर्तं दत्तं ग्रिम-ग्रामे चापि (?) आकुटनागविक-सत्क-रहङ्क-सुत-गण-भुज्यमान-कुटिका-वाप्ये (l. 9) य-धाना-पिटक-मेकं दत्तम् तथा खणी-मठस्य संनिकृष्ट-यमलिका शाकवाटिका तत्र वाप्ये पिटक-द्वय-(l. 10) मङ्कतः २॥ उभौ कुटिका-सहितं पि ३ तथा शाक (?) वाटिकार्धं च। सर्वानेव नियोगस्थान् राज-राजानक-राजस्थानी- (l. 11) यान्सर्व-सवासान् बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं प्रतिवासि-जनपदानां भोगिकादीनां साष्टदश-प्रकृत्यादीनां महा- (l. 12) राज्ञी-श्री-त्रिभुवनरेखा-देव्या प्रतिष्ठापित-नरसिंहस्य योमलकंतस्य प्रतिग्रहेणाग्रहारत्व इति प्रतिपादितम् (l. 13) विदित्वा कीर्तिता कीर्तितैः[1] सर्वैः राजपुरुषैरनुमन्तव्यं यतोऽस्मत्प्रदत्त-शासन-प्रामाण्याद्वसतु वास- (l. 14) यतु भाग[2] न प्रयच्छतु न केन चित्परिपन्थना कार्या॥ अस्मिन्वंशे समुत्पन्नो य× कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत्। तस्याहं हस्त- (l. 15) लग्नोऽस्मि शासनं मा व्यातिक्रमेत्॥ पालनात्परमो धर्मः पालनात्परमं तपः। पालनात्परमः स्वर्गो गरीयस्ते- (l. 16) न पालनम्॥ यत्किं चित्कुरुते पापं जन्म-प्रभृति मानवः। एतन्नोचर्म-मात्रेण भूमि-दानेन शुध्यते॥ फाल-कृष्टां महीं द- (l. 17) त्त्वा सबीजां सस्य-मालिनीम्। यावत्सूर्य-कृता लोकास्तावत्स्वर्गे महीयते॥ तडागानां[3] सहस्रेण चाश्वमेध-शते (l. 18) न च। गवां कोटि-प्रदानेन भूमि-हर्ता न शुध्यते॥ अनुदकेषु[4] वनेषु शुष्क-कोटर-वासिनः। कृष्ण-सर्पा हि जायन्ते भूमि- (l. 19) दायं हरन्ति ये॥ संवत १० वैशाख व ति १०॥ दूतो ऽत्राक्षपटलिक-श्री-विवख(ल: ?)॥ लिखितं कायस्थ-जास[टेन॥?][5]

(l. 20) श्रीमद्यगाकरवर्म-देव-स्वहस्तः॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Reverence to Gaṇapati. O Thou that art the soul of the earth, the water, the fire, the æther and the air . . . . ancient and self-created! Hara, Bhava, Śiva, Śarva, Tryambaka (three-eyed), Īśāna (Lord), Rudra, Trinayana (three-eyed), Vṛṣabhāṅka (bull-marked), O Thou whose shape is endless, reverence to Thee.

(L. 3.). From [his] residence at the glorious Caṇpakā, he who reverently remembers (*lit.* is meditating at the feet of [6]) the very devout worshipper of the deities, the twice-born (the Brāhmaṇs) and the spiritual preceptors; [him] the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord,[7] the illustrious and divine Sāhila, and who was born from the womb of the supreme princess and queen, the illustrious and divine Nennā; he, the tree of whose glory is increased by damming back the great wave of pride[8] [arising from] the uprooting of the host of manifold foes;—he, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Yagākara-varman, the prosperous one[9]—grants:

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[1] Cf. beneath No. 15, ll. 9-10.

[2] On the meaning of *bhāga* as a fiscal term *cf.* Fleet, (*J. R. A. S.* for 1908, pp. 479 f.) who quotes *Manu* 7, 130.

[3] This stanza is restored from No. 25, ll. 26-27.

[4] This stanza in a modified form is found in *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 108, 137 and 180 and *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV (1885) p. 319.

[5] The name Jāsaṭa may be surmised here. It occurs as the name of a Chambā Rājā in inscriptions Nos. 28 and 29.

[6] Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 17, n. 2. The verb *anudhyāyati* means "to remember, to think of." Cf. *Bhāg. P.* 10, 2, 53, 40 सा (रुक्मिणी) चानुध्यायति संयङ्मुकुन्दचरणाम्बुजे।

[7] Cf. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 10, n.

[8] I translate according to the proposed emendation *māna* for *dāna*, as the latter word does not yield any reasonable sense.

[9] The expression °*kuśalin* in charters is usually translated "being in good health." Cf. Fleet *op. cit.* p. 119, n. 8.

(L. 7) -2 *bhū*[1] of *kōhlī* land of the Khaṇī hospice in the *pūrva* (?) belonging to the village of Viḍavikā belonging to the Brahmapura district of his domain. Out of these a field, Śabdabagga by name, which was enjoyed (lit. entered) by the son of Harihalla Rāṅkila, is given in exchange. Also in the village of Grima one *piṭaka* of rice is given from the *vāpya* land of Kuṭikā which was [previously] enjoyed by the sons of Rahaṅka collectively and belongs to the Ākuṭanāgavikā. Further in the vicinity of the Khaṇī hospice is the Yamalikā kitchen-garden; out of the *vāpya* land there, two, in figures 2, *piṭakas* [are given]. [These] together with that of Kuṭika [make] three *pi*. And further, half the kitchen-garden.

(L. 10.) He [the king] informs all officials, every *rājā*, *rāṇā*, chief-justice and all house-owners. Be it known unto you, neighbouring country people, land-holders and others, who are the eighteen elements of the State. On [the temple of] Narasiṁha founded by the Queen, the illustrious and divine Tribhuvanarekhā, is by a formal libation of water (?) this grant bestowed. Having understood [this], let all servants of the king, named and unnamed, observe it, so that on the authority of the charter[2] issued by us, he (the grantee) should live and cause [his tenants] to live, without paying a tithe [to the Rājā]. Let no one offer obstruction.

(L. 14.) Whosoever, born of this race, may be king, I enjoin on him not to transgress [this] order. By [its] observance the highest religious merit, by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit; by [its] observance the highest heaven [will be attained]; [its] observance, therefore, is very important. Whatsoever sin, from his birth onwards, a man commits, it will be cleansed by a gift of land, be it only the size of a cow-hide. He, who gives land, tilled with the plough, provided with seed-corn and fertile (lit. wreathed with grain), he will be blessed in Heaven, as long as light is produced by the sun. He who takes away [the land] is not cleansed by [the digging of] a thousand tanks, by a hundred horse-oblations, and by a gift of ten million cows. Those who confiscate a grant of land are born as black serpents dwelling in the hollows of withered up trees in waterless forests.

(L. 19.) In the year 10, [the month of] Vaiśākha, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 10. The messenger on this occasion was the Recordkeeper, the illustrious Vivakha(la).

Written by the writer of legal documents Jā[saṭa ?]. Own sign-manual of the illustrious and divine Yagākara.

No. 15.—SUṄGAḶ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIDAGDHA.

(Plate XVII.)

The plate of Vidagdha measures 17″ in width by 13″ in height and contains thirty lines of which two are written vertically in the proper right margin. On the cuneiform handle to the proper right side of the plate there are, moreover, three short lines containing the donor's subscription. The average size of the letters is ¼″. The plate is well preserved except for a small piece missing in the lower proper

[1] A *bhū* or *bhūmi*, sub-divided into four (*bhū*)*māṣaka*, is equivalent to about 17 acres.

[2] On the use of *śāsana* in the sense of "a charter" cf. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 99, n. 2.—In Chambā rent-free land given to Brāhmaṇs and temples is now-a-days regularly designated by the name of *sāsan*.

right corner, by which one *akṣara* has been partly lost. Through the central portion of lines 13-15 there runs a rent which, however, has caused no damage to the inscription.

The engraving is remarkably clear, the letters being well-shaped and slimmer than is usually the case with Śāradā inscriptions. As regards its language also, this copper-plate inscription is superior to that of Yagākara-varman. We note the omission of *visarga* and *anusvāra*, the substitution of *ṇ* for *n* (three times, l. 28) and that of *ṅ* for *ṁ* (l. 19 *saṅsāra ;* l. 25 *vaṅśe*) and the interchange of the sibilants (l. 8 *Khaṣa*). Anusvāra is substituted for final nasals, including *n*. The word *pāṣāṇa* (l. 15) is used in the neuter instead of the masculine gender. In line 24 *āśṛta* stands for *āśrita*.[1] In line 21 we find the ungrammatical forms *bhuṁjatu* and *bhuṁjāpayatu* instead of *bhuṅktām* and *bhojayatu*. Some other mistakes are due merely to carelessness on the part of the engraver.

The inscription contains a certain number of sanskritized vernacular terms which it is not always easy to explain. Thus in line 5 we meet with the expression *gavdikaharaṇa*[2] evidently a synonym of *chatrābhoga* (read *kṣatrābhoga* No. 24, ll. 15-16 and No. 26, l. 11) found in corresponding places on other copper-plates. In the passage describing the boundaries of the land (ll. 12-16) such terms are particularly numerous. Here we twice have the word *vīḍā*, evidently the modern *bīṛ* which in the dialect of Chambā denotes the steep slope between terraced fields usually strengthened with a rough wall. The word *bagga* which here occurs twice in the names of fields (Khanibagga and Prāhabagga) has been noted above (p. 160). In *khaḍḍa* we easily recognize the modern *khaḍ*[3] "a precipice." The word *kuppaṭa* means perhaps "a rivulet." The terms *asīhāra* and *kullaka* (l. 16) which belong to the same class of expressions are immediately preceded and followed by a word meaning "water." There can be little doubt that *kullaka* is the *bhāṣā* word *kulla* or *kuhl*(*a*) "an irrigation channel." The real Sanskrit word would have been *kulyā*, from which *kuhl*(*a*) is derived. We have met above (p. 160) with the word *kolhika*, *kōlhī* "an irrigated field," evidently a derivate of *kuhl*. Possibly *asīhāra* has some similar meaning. The words *rocika* and *ciṭolā* I am unable to explain; judging from the context, they would seem to denote some agricultural products.

In the beginning of the inscription (ll. 1-5) the donor Vidagdha is mentioned as a scion of the Solar race and of the house of Moṣana, and as the son of Yugākara-varman and Bhogamatī. The name of his ancestor Moṣana we have met with in a slightly different form in the image inscriptions of Meru-varman. His father Yugākara-varman is undoubtedly the same as Yagākara the donor of the Brahmor grant. Vidagdha was consequently the grandson of Sāhilla or Sāhila, the founder of Chambā town.

The lands granted are said to be situated near the village of Sumaṅgala, the modern Suṅgaḷ (map Sungul) 2 miles above Chambā town on the right bank of the Sāhō stream. The name of the district, Tāvasa(ka), is probably preserved in that of the village of Tausā, which may once have been the head-quarters of the *maṇḍala*

[1] A similar mistake occurs in inscription No. 9, l. 2.

[2] B. R. has *gabdikā* (or *gandikā*) Kāśikāvṛtti, The Paṇḍit VII N. pr. einer Oertlichkeit.

[3] Cf. beneath No. 16, l. 13.

of that name. Most of the names of the localities mentioned in describing the boundaries of the grant (ll. 11-15) are known up to the present day.[1]

The exact meaning of the special privileges connected with the donation (ll. 15-26) it is difficult now to ascertain. It is, however, clearly stated that the gift is given in perpetuity and is not to be interfered with in any way. The clause enjoining that the head of the district (*cāṭa : cār*) was not allowed to enter the land seems to imply exemption from forced labour (Skr. *viṣṭi ;* Camb. *bīṭh*).[2] Rents and taxes (and apparently fines also) due to the king would fall to the share of the grantee. The present holders of the land assert that originally the right of sanctuary was connected with the grant and that this right was still exercised in the reign of Rājā Carhat Singh (A.D. 1808-1844). But no reference to such a privilege is found in the title-deed. The donee named, Nandu(ka) the son of Deddu(ka), was a Brāhmaṇ whose grandfather had come from Kurukṣetra, the famous place of pilgrimage near Thāṇeśar.

In the following three lines (26-28) we find the usual verses—ascribed to the Sage Vyāsa, the mythical compiler of the Vedas and the Mahābhārata—in which the duty of maintaining the grant is emphasized. This is the only portion of the inscription composed in poetry. It consists of three stanzas, two of which are in the Anuṣṭubh and one in the Indravajrā metre.

The document is dated in the fourth year of Vidagdha's reign on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha. As previously stated, the grant was made on the occasion of the hibernal solstice (*Makara-saṁkrānti*).

TEXT.

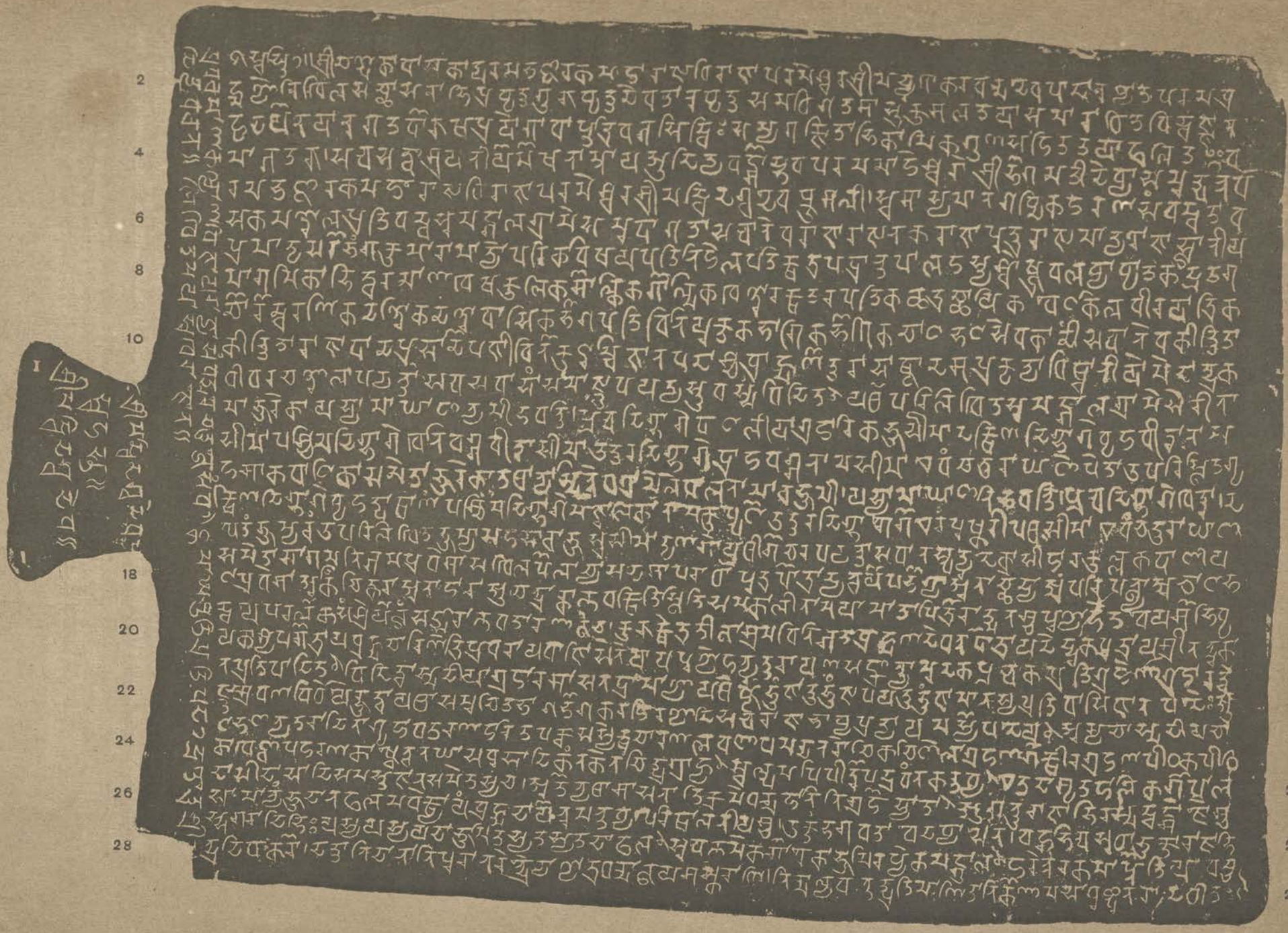
ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ श्री चरणकावासकात्परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्युगाकरवर्म-देव-पादानुध्यात[ऽ*]परमब्र(l. 2)ह्मण्यो निखिलसच्छासनाभिप्रवृत्त-गुरुवृत्त-देवतानुवृत्त-समधिगत-शास्त्रकुशलतया समाराधित-विद्वज्जन-(l. 3)हृदयो नयानुगत-पौरुष-प्रयोगावाप्त-त्रिवर्गसिद्धि: सं(सम्)यगर्जिताभिकामिकगुण-सहिततया फलित इव (l. 4) मार्गतरु[:*]। सर्वसत्वा(त्त्वा)श्रयनी-(णो)यो मोषनाम्नाय (मोषणान्वय) आदित्य-वङ्शो(वंशो)द्भव [ऽ*] परममाहेश्वरो(र:) श्री-भोगमतीदेव्या(व्यां) समुत्पन्न[ऽ*] प-(l. 5)रमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्दिदग्ध देव× कुशली । खशास्यमान-गव्दिकहरण-संवड्-ताव-(l. 6) सक-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-सुमङ्गल-ग्रामे समुपागता[न्*] सर्वानेव राज-राजानक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-राजस्थानीय-(l. 7) प्रमातृ-सरोभंग-कुमारामात्योपरिक-विषयपति-निच्छेलपति-चट्टप-प्रान्तपाल-हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रबलव्याव्रु(घृ)[3]तक-दूत-ग-(l. 8) मागमिकाभित्वरमाण-खष(श)-कुलिक-शौल्किक-गौल्मिक-खण्डरक्ष-[4]तरपतिक-क्षत्र(त्त्र)च्छायिक-वेट-किल-वीरयाचिक(l. 9)-चौरोद्धरणिक-दण्डिक-दण्डवासिक-भोगपति-विनियुक्तक-भागिक-भोगिक-चाट-भट-सेवकादीं-(दीन्) सर्वानेव कीर्तिता-(l. 10)कीर्तितां(तान्) राजपाद-प्रसादोपजीविनो(न×) कुटुम्बि-जनपदा(दां)श्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरा[न्*] साष्टादश-प्रकृत्याधिष्ठा(ष्ठा)नीयो(यान्) मेदान्ध्रक-(l. 11)

[1] Similar passages in which the natural boundaries of the granted land are described are regularly found in the Chambā copper-plate grants of the Muhammadan period. They are invariably in the vernacular and begin with the words : *Atra sīmā.*

[2] In later title-deeds one meets with the expression *bīṭh-bēgār.*

[3] The *akṣara vṛ* is provided with an *ā* mark.

[4] No. 25 l. 14 reads *khaḍga-rakṣa* which is probably correct. Cf. above p. 127.



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धीवर-चण्डाल-पर्यन्तां[न्तान्] सर्व-सवासां(सान्) समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितम्[।*] यथोपरि-लिखित-सुमङ्गल-ग्रामे सेरी ना-(l. 12) मा(म) भूरेका यस्यामाघाटान्यमी(न्यूनि) भवन्ति। पूर्व-दिग्भागे पाटलीयाग्रहारिक-भू-सीमा दक्षिण-दिग्भागे वृहवीडा-नाम-(l. 13) सीमा पश्चिम-दिग्भागे खनिवग्ग-वीडा-सीमा उत्तर-दिग्भागे प्राहवग्ग-नाम-सीमा एवं चतुराघाटोपेता उपरिलिखित-ग्र-(l. 14)ह-शाकवाटिका-समेता भूरेका [।*] तथान्यास्मिन्नेव ग्रामे लवाल-नामार्धभूमी। यस्यामा-घाटानि भवन्ति। पूर्व-दिग्भागे खड्डा। द-(l. 15)क्षिण-दिग्भागे बृहत्पाषाणं(णः) पश्चिम-दिग्भागे मज्वलिका-नाम-कुप्पटो उत्तर-दिग्भागे गोचर-पुष्करी-पथ-सीमा [।*] एवं चतुराघाट(टो)-(l. 16) पेतं भूम्यर्धं उपरिलिखित-भूम्या सह सार्धा भू[:*]स्वसीमा-तृण-गोयूथी (गव्यूति)-गोचर-पर्यन्ता सवा(व)नस्पत्युदकासीहार-कुल्लक-पाणी(नी)य-(l. 17)समेता सागम-निर्गम-प्रवेशा सखिल-पोलाच्या सदशापराधा पुत्र-पौत्राद्यन्वयोपभोग्या अनाच्छेद्या अपरिपन्थ्या अचाट-भ-(l. 18)ट-प्रवेशा अकिंचित्करा अनाहारा आचन्द्रार्कार्णव-क्षिति-स्थिति-समकालीना मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-हेतवे यशो-भिवृ-(l. 19)द्धये। परलोक-संश्रेयोर्थं सङ्सा-(संसा)रार्णव-तारणार्थं च। कुरुक्षेत्र-तीर्थाश्रम-विनिर्गत-ब्राह्मण-देवन्न-पौत्राय देहुक-पुत्राय श्रीनन्दुका-(l. 20)य काश्यप-गोत्राय ब्रह्मचारिणे त्रिप्रवराय वाजिसे(जस)नेयाय पुण्ये हन्युत्तरायण-सङ्क्रान्त्यामुदक-पूर्वक-प्रतिग्रहेणाग्रहा-रत्वे-(l. 21)न प्रतिपादितम् [।*] विदित्वास्मदीयाग्रहार-शासन-प्रामाण्या[द्*] यथेष्टं भुंजतु (भुङ्क्ताम्) भुंजापयतु(भोजयतु) भुंजमानस्य (भुञ्जानस्य) प्रतिवासि-जनपदैः(र्)आ-(l. 22)ज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयैर्भूत्वा यथा-समुचित-भाग-भोग-कर-हिरण्यादि सर्व-राज-भाव्य-प्रत्यायमस्योपदेयम् [।*]अस्य चास्मदीय-चा- (l. 23)ट-भटान्यतरादिना ग्रहावतरण-हरित-पक्व-सस्येक्षु-चारण-लवण(नो)-पमर्दन-रोचिक-चिटोला-ग्रहण-गोक्षोर-ग्रहण-पीठक-पीठि-(l. 24) का-खट्वापहरण-काष्ठेन्धन-घास-बुसादिकं न केनचित्ग्राह्यम्[।*] स्वल्पमपि पीडोपद्रवं न कर्तव्यम्[।*]एतदाशृ(श्रि)त-हालिक-गोपाल-(l. 25) दासी-दासादि-समस्त-जन-समेतस्य च। अतोन्यथा शासनातिक्रमे धर्महानि-निग्रहो(हः) स्यात्। आगन्तु-राजभिरस्मद्वंशे(द्वंश)जैश्च (l. 26)सामान्यं भूदान-फलमवेक्ष्यायं ब्रह्मदायो नुम-न्तव्य[:*]। परिपा(पा)लनीयश्च। उक्तं भगवता वेदव्यासेन। बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि- (l. 27) स्सगरादिभि:[।*]यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्*]तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्[॥*]सुवर्णमेकं[कं]गौरेका (गामेकां) भूमि(मि)रप्येकमङ्गुलं [।*] हरे(र)न्नरकमाप्नोति यावच्च- (l. 28)न्द्र-दिवाकरौ ।(॥) दत्तानि दानानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्याण्य(न्य)च धर्मार्थ-यशस्कराणि। निर्माल्यवन्त(न्त)मतिमाणि(नि)तानि को णा(ना)म साधुX पुनरादधीत: (दीत) ॥ (l. 29)प्रवर्धमाण(न)-कल्याण-विजय-राज्य-संवत्सरे चतुर्थे संवत् ४ माघ-शु-ति-प्रतिपद(त्)१ [।*] दूतोत्रश्री-[आ](l. 30)दित्यवर्धन[:*] ॥ लिखित-(तं) मया सुखरानजे॥ श्रीमद्दिग्धदेव-स्वहस्त[:*]॥ श्रीमद्दिग्धदेव[:*]॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From [his] residence at the glorious Campakā, he who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Yugākara-varman; he, the very devout one; who, having attained expertness in the Law, by his devotion to all good commandments, by his deportment towards the spiritual preceptors and by his obedience to the deities, has propitiated the hearts of the learned; who by the practice of bravery combined with policy, has acquired success in the three aims of life[1]; who, by his complete attainment of

[1] Virtue (*dharma*), pleasure (*kāma*) and wealth (*artha*).

desirable qualities, resembles a fruit-bearing tree on the road-side; he, the refuge of all beings; sprung from the House of Moṣaṇa and from the Solar Race, the supreme worshipper of the Great Lord (Śiva), born from the illustrious and divine Bhogamatī; the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Vidagdha, the prosperous one,

(L. 5.) orders all who are concerned with (lit. arrived at) the village of Sumaṅgala belonging to the Tāvasa(ka) district of his domain (?)—every *rājā, rāṇā, rājpūt*, royal minister, chief-justice, judge, *sarobhaṅga*, councillor of the Prince, *uparika, viṣayapati, nihelapati, kṣatrapa* (*kṣetrapa ?*), frontier-guard (?), those occupied with elephants, horses, camels and the forces, every *dūta, gamāgamika, abhitvaramāṇa* Khaśa, Kulika, superintendent of customs (?), superintendent of forests, *khaṇḍarakṣa*, (*khaḍgarakṣa ?*), *tarapati*, parasol-bearer, betel-carrier, those belonging to the expeditionary force (?), every "thief-catcher," "rod-bearer," "rod-and-rope-bearer," *bhogapati, viniyuktaka*, land-owners (?), land-holders (?), district officers (*cāṛ*) and their subordinates, servants and so on,[1]—all, whether named or unnamed, who subsist on the favour of His Highness the King, householders and country-people, from the highest Brāhmaṇs who hold a prominent position among the eighteen elements of the State down to the Medas, Andrakas, fishers and Caṇḍālas—all inhabitants:

(L. 11.) Be it known unto you that in the above-named village of Sumaṅgala [there is] one *bhū* of land, Serī by name, of which the boundaries are these: on the east side the limit of the rent-free land (*agrahāra*) of [the village] of Pāṭala, on the south side the limit known as "the great slope," on the west side the limit of the slope of the Khanibagga [field], on the north side the limit known as Prāhabagga. One *bhū* [of land] thus bounded, together with the houses and kitchen-gardens situated thereon. Further in that same village [there is] another half *bhū* [of land] Lavāla by name, of which the boundaries are: on the east side the precipice, on the south side the large rock, on the west side the rivulet (?) Majvalikā by name, on the north side the limit of the path to the pasture-ground of Puṣkarī. Half a *bhū* thus bounded together with the above described *bhū* [to wit] one and a half *bhū* as far as its limits, grass, grazing and pasture-ground, together with fruit-trees and with the water-courses and channels, with approaches, ingress and egress, with fallow-land and cultivated land,[2] with [the fines for] the ten offences,[3] to be enjoyed by the succession of sons, sons' sons, and so forth, uncurtailable, unopposed, [with the privilege that it is] not to be entered by district-officers or their servants, free from tax,[4] inalienable, for as long a time as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth shall endure, for the sake of the spiritual merit and for the increase of the glory of my parents and myself, for the sake of the bliss of the next world, and in order to cross the ocean of existence, have I granted by a formal libation of water,

(L. 19) as an *agrahāra* to the illustrious Nandu(ka), the son of Deddu(ka) and grandson of the Brāhmaṇ Devanna from[5] the hermitage of holy Kurukṣetra, [to

[1] The meaning of these various titles has been discussed above, pp. 120 ff.

[2] I suppose *polācya* to be Hindī *polac* "land constantly under cultivation."

[3] Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 189, n. 4.

[4] The ordinary meaning of *akiṁcitkara* "Nichts zu Wege bringend, zu Nichts nutze" (B.R.) cannot be applied here. Cf. *Rājat.* VIII 551.

[5] On the meaning of *vinirgata* cf. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXI, p. 331.

him] the Brāhman student[1] of the house of Kāśyapa, the descendant of three prominent sages (*ṛṣi*) and adherent of the school of the Vājasaneyas, on the auspicious day of the hibernal solstice.

(L. 21.) Having understood this, he should freely enjoy and make [others] to enjoy [this grant] on the authority of our charter. The subjects, resident in the enjoyed land, in obedience to our command, will have to deliver to him the regular share and use,[2] tax in kind and cash, and every other tribute due to the king. And of our district officers and their subordinates and others no one will be allowed to alight at his house, to cut[3] or crush his corn, sugar-cane or pasture(?), whether green or ripe, nor to take *rocika* or *ciṭolā* or to take cows-milk, nor to carry off stools, benches or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff, and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted on him, nor on his ploughmen, cowherds, maids, servants and all other people that are dependent on him. Otherwise, in case of infringement of [this] order, there will be punishment for breaking the law. Also the future kings, born of our race, considering the common merit of bestowing land, should recognize and preserve this brahmanical inheritance.

(L. 26.) It has been said by the venerable arranger of the Vedas: "Many kings from Sagara onward have enjoyed the land. Whose is the ground, his is the fruit. Whosoever shall take away one gold-piece, one cow, or one inch of land, he will remain in hell as long as moon and sun shall endure. Those gifts which have been given by previous princes causing here [in this world] spiritual and material gain and glory, and respected like the remnants of a sacrifice, what pious man, indeed, would take them back?"

(L. 29.) In the fourth year of the increasing, fortunate reign of victory, anno 4, [the month of] Māgha, the bright fortnight, the first lunar day 1. The messenger on this occasion was the illustrious Āditya-vardhana. Written by me, Sukha-rāja.

Own sign-manual of the illustrious and divine Vidagdha. The illustrious and divine Vidagdha.

No. 16.—SPURIOUS SAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIDAGDHA-VARMAN.—(PLATE XVIII.)

This copper-plate measures $10\frac{3}{8}''$ in width and $6''$ to $6\frac{1}{8}''$ in height. It contains fourteen lines of writing; lines 11-13 are half lines written vertically on the side margin to the proper right, and line 14 is incised inversed on the top margin. The side margin contains, moreover, the signature in two short lines, and at the bottom we find half a line in the vernacular in somewhat smaller type. The remainder of the inscription is in Sanskrit. The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}''$ to $\frac{5}{16}''$. The inscription is clearly engraved and the plate is in an excellent state of preservation. Its present owner, Byāja, a Brāhman resident at Sai (Gudyāl *pargaṇā*) is still in possession of the land described in the title-deed.

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[1] The word *brahmacārin* can either be taken in its classical sense of "Brahmanical student" or in that of a Śaiva sect of ascetics founded by Śaṅkarācārya. Cf. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India* (London, 1903), p. 152.

[2] For *bhāga* cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 248, for *bhoga ibidem*, p. 112, n. 1 and for *bhāga-bhoga*, p. 120, n. 1. I translate according to the proposed emendation, *lavana* instead of *lavana*.

The inscription pretends to be the record of a grant of land by Vidagdha-varman to a Brāhman, Kalaśi-śarman by name. There can, however, be little doubt that the copper-plate on which it is engraved was never issued by Vidagdha, who, as we know, ruled in the 10th century A.D. The character of the inscription alone is sufficient proof; it is the Ṭākarī found on copper-plates of the 16th and 17th centuries.[1] It should also be noticed that the inscription is dated in the Śāstra year 27, whereas this era was not used in title-deeds until the 14th century, the earlier plates being dated according to regnal years. The very corrupt language of the inscription also points to a much later date than the 10th century. Finally, it may be noted that the clause *tad anena sasaṁtānenācandra-sūrya-brahmāṇḍa-sthiti-paryantam upabhuñjanīyam* is regularly found in the same words on the later copper-plates, but on the specimens of the pre-Muhammadan period the idea is expressed in a different manner. The subsequent description of the boundaries also is in the style of those later documents.

On the other hand, the inscription has certain features in common with the early title-deeds of the period to which it is alleged to belong. This leads me to think that it was, partially at least, copied from a title-deed actually issued by Vidagdha-varman. It opens with a stanza in the *Vasantatilaka* metre in honour of Śiva which is to be restored as follows :—

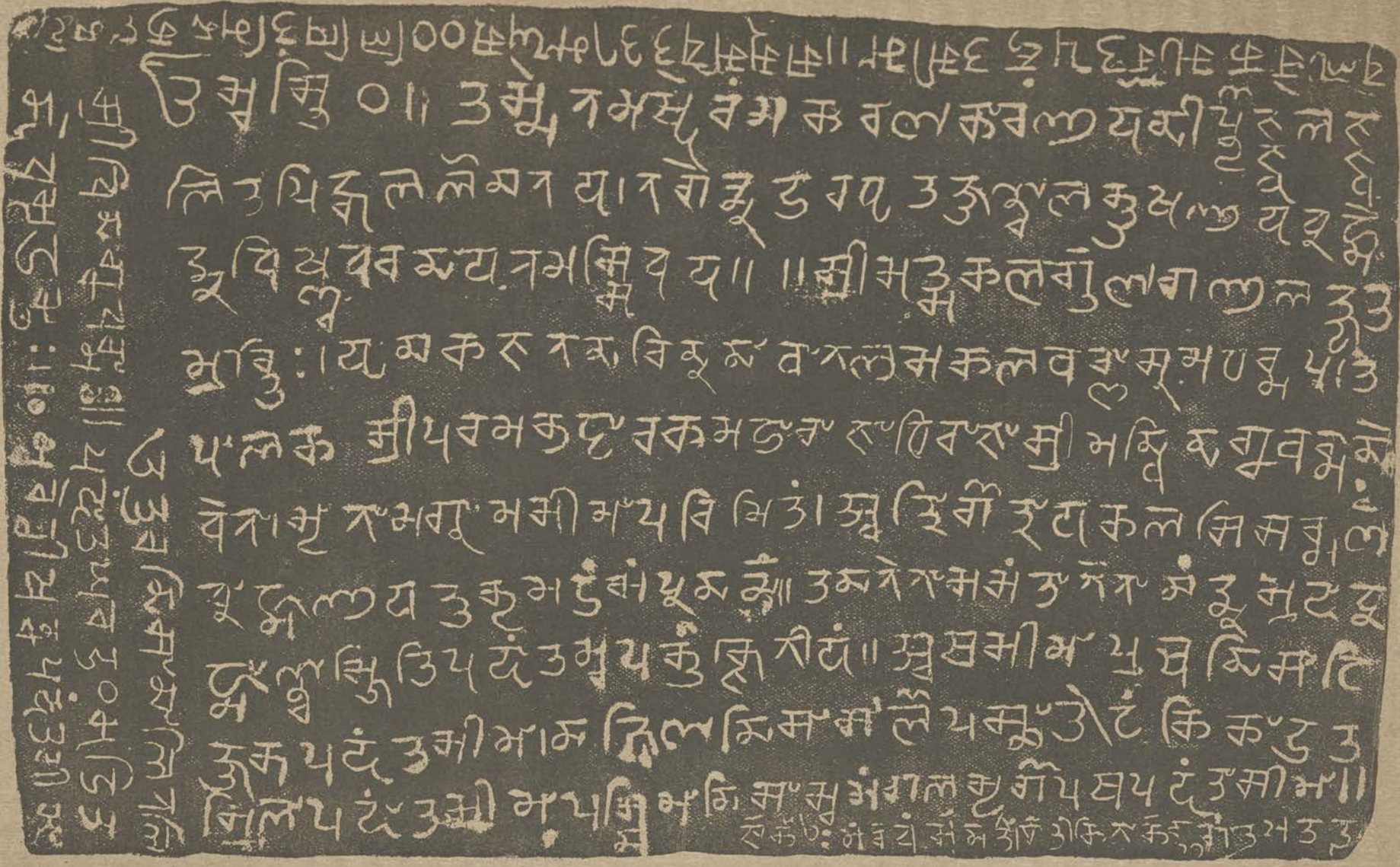
तस्मै नमः परम-कारण-कारणाय दीप्युज्ज्वलज्ज्वलित-पिङ्गल-लोचनाय ।
नागेन्द्र-हार-वृत-कुण्डल-भूषणाय ब्रह्मेन्द्र-विष्णु-वरदाय नमश्शिवाय ॥

Such verses are regularly found at the beginning of the Chambā copper-plates of the 10th and 11th centuries; but there is not a single instance on plates of the Muhammadan period. Two orthographical points deserve special notice. In *namaś-Śivāya* we find the final sibilant assimilated to the initial sibilant of the following word. This is a peculiarity of the pre-Muhammadan period; in later epigraphs the final *s* is changed into *visarga*. In the first line we have *namaṣ-parama-*. I presume that in the original the first word ended in *upadhmānīya*, which the maker of the spurious plate mistook for *ṣa* to which it bears a close resemblance, if placed vertically. It has to be remembered that the *upadhmānīya* dropped out of use in this part of India after about 1200 A.D. These observations lead us to infer that the original was not copied from memory, but that the engraver actually had before him some genuine plate of Vidagdha, part of which he transferred into the character of his time, not without making numerous blunders. The subscription in the margin points to the same conclusion; for this also is a feature peculiar to the earlier copper-plate inscriptions. The engraver only repeated erroneously the *visarga* and the double stroke after the first half of the compound.

The original document seems no longer to be extant. It is clear that it cannot be the Suṅgaḷ plate of Vidagdha edited above (No. 15), as it does not contain the initial stanza. The fact that another plate of Vidagdha existed up to a few centuries ago is of some interest.

It is interesting that the village of Suṅgaḷ is mentioned here by its ancient name, Sumaṅgala, which we have already met with in the immediately preceding inscrip-

[1] Cf. my paper "*A copper-plate Grant of Bahādur Siṅgh of Kuḷū.*" *A. R. A. S.* for 1903-04, pp. 262-269.



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tion (No. 15). The other localities referred to in the description of the boundaries—the village of Śālō, the Mureḍī Khaḍ and the hamlet of Balyārā—are still known by the same names. The rock marked with a hoe (*ṭāṅkī*) is also said to be still extant. The word *ṭīkuru* denotes also a rock. It is probably the same as *ṭikrī* which occurs in the names of the two *parganās* Lōh-Ṭikrī and Bhaṭṭi Ṭikrī.

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ [1]तस्मै नमष्परमकरणकारणाय दीप्त्योज्ज्वलज्ज्व-(l. 2)लित-पिङ्गल-लोचनय। नगेन्द्रहरवृतकुण्डल-भूषणाय ब्रह्मे-(l. 3)न्द्र-विष्णु-वरदाय नमश्शिवाय ॥ श्रीमत्सकल-गुणगणालङ्कृत-(l. 4) मूर्त्तिः। याचकजन-दरिद्र-दावानल-सकलवर्णाश्रम-धर्मप्रति-(l. 5)पालक-श्री-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराजा-श्रीमद्विदग्धवर्म-दे-(l. 6)वेना । स्य-नाम-ग्राम [:*] सीमा-परिमितं (त)। अत्रि-गोत्राय कलशिशर्मणे (l. 7) ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं संप्रददे(त्ते) [2]॥ तदनेनाससंतानेनाचंद्रसूर्यब्र-(l. 8)ह्माण्ड-स्थिति-पर्यंतमुपभुंञ्जनोयं[3] ॥ अथ सीमा पूर्वदिशा टि-(l. 9)कुरु-पर्यंत-सीमा । दक्षिण-दिशा शालो-पश्चात्। टंकिकाहत-(l. 10)शिला-पर्यंत-सीमा पश्चिम-दिशा सुमंगलस्य गोपथ-पर्यंता सीमा ॥ (l. 11) उत्तर-दिशा चालिनलि [4] (l. 12) पर्यंत घर-हट्ठ-सहित (l. 13) मुरेडो-धड-पर्यंत-सीमा (l. 14) बल्यरे कस्यरोत-पर्यंत-सीमा ॥ शस्त्र[5] -संवत् २७ माघे शु ११ (?) लिखितंमिद भट्टाचर्यें[ण][6] (Subscription) श्री-विदग्धवर्मा: ॥ देवस्वहस्त: ॥ (Vernacular) जो कोइ मेरे बंसे द होए तो कि ना कर्ण गंतमतत

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Homage to Him, the ultimate Cause of causes, whose eyes are blazing red and lustre-flaming—adorned with ear-rings, wrapped in serpent-garlands, Brahm', Indra, Viṣṇu's Patron—Hail to Śiva!

The illustrious [prince] whose frame is adorned with the full number of all virtues; who resembles the fire of a forest conflagration [in his behaviour] towards supplicants and poor,[7] the protector of all the castes, the orders of religious life, and of the law; the illustrious supreme prince, the king of kings, the illustrious and divine Vidagdha-varman grants a village, Sya by name, limited by its boundaries, to the Brāhmaṇ Kalaśi-śarman of the house of Atri.[8] It is to be enjoyed by him and his offspring for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth shall endure. These are the boundaries. On the east side the boundary is as far as the rock; on the south side the boundary is as far as the hoe-marked rock behind [the village of] Śālō; on the west side the boundary is as far as the cattle-tract of Sumaṅgala (*i.e.* Suṅgaḷ); on the north side the boundary is as far as the Cālī Nāḷī including house and shop, the boundary as far as the Mureḍī Khaḍ, the boundary as far as [the hamlet of] Balyāre Kasyarota(?). In the Śāstra year 27 [the month of] Māgha . . . Written by Bhaṭṭācārya. Signature of the illustrious and divine Vidagdha-varman. (*In vernacular:*) Whosoever there will be of my race, ...[9]

[1] For a restored reading of this stanza see above p. 170.

[2] The construction of this sentence is hopelessly wrong.

[3] Read उपभोजनीयम्.

[4] Probably चालिनाली.

[5] Read शास्त्र.

[6] Read भट्टाचार्येण.

[7] The epithet is hardly flattering. A victorious prince is often compared to a forest-conflagration, his enemies representing the trees, e.g. *Pratāpānalanirdagdha-vipakṣakulakānanaḥ* Kathās. 11, 8, 60 and *pratāpa-dahana-dagdhāri-kula-kānanaḥ*. Delhi Museum, Inscr. No. B 6, verse 5, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 93.

[8] The words तुभ्यमहं I have left untranslated.

[9] The rest of this sentence is unintelligible.

No. 17.—TUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THAKKIKA.

(PLATE XIX *a*.)

Besides the rock inscriptions noted above (No. 10),[1] the village of Tur has yielded three inscribed stones which were all found on the same spot inside the village, and have since been brought to Chambā Town and placed in the State Museum (Nos. A, 2–4). Two of the stones are evidently detached pedestals of images; they are provided with a mortice to receive the tenon of the image, and with a water-spout to allow the sacrificial water to run off.

One of these slabs, measuring 2′ 3¾″ by 1′ 3″ by 6″, bears an inscription of six lines of 23″ each, except the last line which is 17″ in length. The letters which are on the average ½″ in height, are clearly cut, but a considerable number of them are more or less worn away or damaged. The two ends of the first line are completely destroyed, by which some three *akṣaras* have been lost at the beginning, and some sixteen *akṣaras* at the end of this line. In the second line also the initial three *akṣaras* are indistinct, and the last twelve *akṣaras* are uncertain, owing to the surface of the stone having peeled off. There is a crack through a portion of the last line by which the first six *akṣaras* have become injured.

The language used in the inscription adds to the difficulty of its interpretation. It is Sanskrit, but the words follow each other without any syntactical connection. We may assume *a priori* that the inscription records the erection of the image to which it belonged. This assumption is confirmed by the word *pratiṣṭhitam*[2] preceded by a date at the end. But the object, the erection of which it is meant to record, is apparently not mentioned. We find, however, in the first line a deity invoked whose name reads: *Śrī-Tthakkika-svāmin*, and there is every likelihood that this is the god represented by the image. It is true that no member of the Hindū Pantheon bears this name, but it was the custom in Kaśmīr[3] and probably in other parts of India to give an image the name of its founder, with the words *īśvara* or *svāmin* added to it. Well-known instances are afforded by the temple of Meruvardhanasvāmin founded by Meru-vardhana at Pandrēṭhan; those of Avantisvāmin and Avantīśvara at Vāntipōr (Avantipura) named after their founder Avanti-varman; and the two temples of Paṭan called Śaṅkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa after Śaṅkara-varman and his queen Sugandhā. In general the term *svāmin* in such compounds indicates an image of Viṣṇu, and *īśvara* or *īśa* one of Śiva, so that in the present instance the inscription presumably refers to a Viṣṇu image.[4] The only objection to my interpretation is that the person who erected this image is mentioned in the inscription under the name of Thakkaka (l. 3) or Thakkika (l. 4). The resemblance, however, of this name to the first part of that of the deity invoked in the beginning of the document is so great, that I have no hesitation in restoring the latter as Śrī-Thakkika-svāmin or Śrīmat-Thakkika-svāmin.

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[1] See above, pp. 147 f.

[2] The past participle of the causative *pratiṣṭhāpita* would have been more correct; *cf.* above, No. 14, l. 12.

[3] Cf. Stein, *Rājat.* vol. II, p. 369. The custom exists also in Rājpūtānā.

[4] It is true that in the inscription Thakkika calls himself a worshipper of Śiva, but this need not have prevented him from dedicating an image to Viṣṇu.

Besides the founder's name, we find that of his father, Prakaṭa, his grandfather, Carata, his great-grandfather,—khika, and his great-great-grandfather, Caṇṇa. The progenitor of his house was Dhara who is called *sāmanta*, Lord of Makuṭa and *mahārājādhirāja*. Regarding the position of Makuṭa I am unable to offer any suggestions, but it should be noticed that it occurs also in the Vaṁśāvalī (verse 79). Possibly it was the old name of Tur.

It is interesting to meet here for the second time with the ancient name of Brahmor, *viz.*, Brahmapura already noticed in the copper-plate grant of Yugākara-varman (No. 14, l. 6). Unfortunately, owing to the stone being broken, it is not clear in what connection it is mentioned here. The title *sāmanta* indicates that Dhara and his descendants were feudatory chiefs, no doubt dependent on the Rājās of Brahmor and Chambā. The inscription is dated in the first year of the reign of Vidagdha, and at the end of a long series of partially obscure epithets Thakkika is said to have found high favour with Vidagdha-deva. This Vidagdha can be no other than the Chambā Rājā whose copper-plate grant has been edited in the course of this work (No. 15). To him Thakkika owed allegiance, and the mention of Brahmapura perhaps indicates that the same relationship existed between Thakkika's ancestors and the ancient rulers of Brahmor

TEXT.

[ओं स्वस्ति[1]] श्रीमद्विदग्ध-राज्य-संवत्सरे १ ॥ ओं नमो(मः) श्रीथक्किकस्वामिपादाः (दाभ्याम्) ॥ — — — — — — — —

(l. 2) [संवर्धि]त-महाश्री-सामन्त-मकुटाधिपति-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीधरेण श्रीब्रह्मपुर-म[ध्यस्थ] (l. 3)श्रीधर-वङ्शो (वंशो)द्भव-श्रीचरु-पुत्त्र-श्री - . . खिक[2]-पुत्त्र-श्रीचरत-पुत्त्र-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीप्रकट-पुत्त्र-श्रीथक्कक-परममाहेश्व-(l. 4) [र-] देव-गुरु-अभिरत-भक्तं ॥ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीथक्किक-केसरि-सङ्ग्राम-विणोअ (विनोद ?)[3] -गुण-सागर-सोह (सिंह)-परा [क्रम-) (l. 5) जय श्री-[अभिलास[4]-] खड्गकथानुराग-निजभुज-प्राकार-बन्दि(न्ध)न-समर[र*][ति[5]-रिपुबल-सन्त्रास-श्रीमद्विदग्ध-देव-लब्ध-(l. 6) पर-प्रसाद-महाराजाधिराजः ॥ माघ-शुति-द्वादश्यां भौमवारे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the first year of the reign of the illustrious Vidagdha. Reverence to the feet of the illustrious Thakkika-svāmin. . . . . (l. 2.) By the very illustrious baron, the lord of Makuṭa, the king of kings, the illustrious Dhara . . . in the midst of Brahmapura . . . . In the lineage of the illustrious Dhara was born the illustrious Caṇṇa; his son was the illustrious -khika; his son was the illustrious Carata; his son was the illustrious Thakkaka, the supreme worshipper of the Great Lord (Śiva), delighting in the adoration of the deities and the spiritual preceptors.

[1] The lower ends of the two *akṣaras* of *svasti* are still traceable.

[2] Between *śrī* and *khi* one *akṣara* is lost.

[3] Cf. beneath No. 24, l. 11 and No. 25, l. 11.

[4] It seems that the *akṣara la* is written beneath the line between *bhi* and *sa*; but owing to the fracture of the stone, the proposed reading is to be considered hypothetical.

[5] Before *ti* evidently an *akṣara* is missing. On account of the preceding *ra*, we may assume that it was this syllable, though I have not met with the expression *samara-rati* anywhere else. It is also possible to restore it to *samarakṣiti* which would yield a better sense.

He, the king of kings, the illustrious Thakkika disported himself in the combat with the maned lion, was an ocean of virtues, of lion-like prowess, the terror of the hostile host, when in the joy of battle[1] he raised a rampart with his own arms reddened with the crossing of swords in search of victory, and won great favour with the illustrious and divine Vidagdha, he, the king of kings. Erected in [the month of] Māgha, the bright fortnight, the twelfth lunar day, on Tuesday.

No. 18.—TUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF DODAKA.

(PLATE XIX *b*.)

The second of the inscribed slabs noted at Tur must likewise have belonged to an image. It measures 3′ by 2′ 1″ by 7½″ and bears an inscription in three lines each about 18″ in length. The letters which measure ½″ to ¾″ in height are badly formed, and in places damaged. In the first line most of the *akṣaras* are broken at the top, but enough remains to enable us to decipher it. The language is Sanskrit, but the vowel marks have often been omitted. As the greater portion of the inscription consists of conventional royal titles, the uncertain syllables can be easily restored.

In the inscription it is recorded that an image of Kārttikeya—evidently that of which the inscribed stone formed the base—was erected by Dodaka. This Dodaka may be identified with the Chambā Rājā who in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (verse 82) is called Dogdha, and there figures as the son of Yugākara and the father of Vidagdha. From the Tur inscription, however, it is clear that Dodaka was the successor, and presumably the son of Vidagdha, whereas the latter was the son and successor of Yugākara. This last point is, moreover, established by Vidagdha's copper-plate grant (No. 15).

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ श्री-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्युगाकर-[पुत्र-श्री-] (l. 2) विदग्धदेव-पदनु-ध्यत-(पादानुध्यात-)परमेश्वर-परमभट(ट्टा)रक-श्रीमदो(द्दो)द-[l. 3]कदेव-[कामु]क-देव-श्रीसा (सा) मिकार्तिक [:*] श्रीदोदक(के)न स्थापित[:*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The illustrious Dodaka has erected [an image of] the illustrious lord Kārttika, that god who loves the supreme lord, the supreme prince, the illustrious Dodaka—him that reverently remembers the illustrious and divine Vidagdha, the son of the illustrious king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Yugākara.

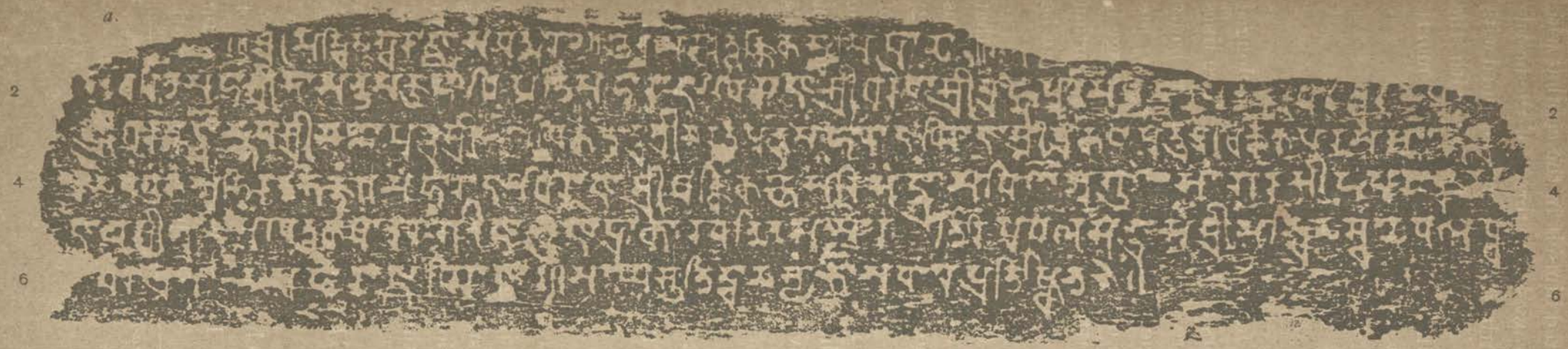
No. 19.—TUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XIX *c*.)

The remaining Tur inscription occurs on a much defaced stone statuette of inferior workmanship (height 1′ 11″; width 1′) now placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 4.) It represents a standing four-armed goddess, presumably Pārvatī,

[1] "On the field of battle" if we read *samara-kṣiti*.

a.



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b.

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c.

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the spouse of Śiva. One of the two left hands is missing. The figure seems to hold a trident (Skr. *triśūla*) in one of her right hands and a snake (Skr. *sarpa*) in the preserved left hand. A lion, the vehicle of the goddess, rests at her feet.

The inscription carved on the base consists of three lines, each 9″ in length. The letters, which measure ½″ to 1″ in height, are well formed, but unfortunately nearly the whole of the writing is obliterated. The only word which is quite distinct is *pratiṣṭhita* in the last line. Here as in Nos. 14 (l. 12) and 18 (l. 6) this past participle is used instead of the causative *pratiṣṭhāpita*. It suffices to show that the inscription records the erection of the image on which it is engraved. After *pratiṣṭhita*, and separated from it by a double vertical stroke, we read *Nnanenna* followed by the *akṣara gha*. I presume that the latter forms the beginning of the past participle *ghaṭita*. In fact the second *akṣara* of the word is still traceable, though apparently it is provided with a long *i* stroke. If this restoration is correct, the preceding word is the name of the maker of the image, in the instrumental case. Probably we have to read *Nanena*.

The word preceding *pratiṣṭhita*, in all probability, gave the name of the deity represented by the image. The last letter is certainly *ta* and the last but one may be *dha*, *pa*, or *ba*(*va*). Perhaps the word was *Bhagavatī* which is also used in the Svāim image inscription (No. 12) and is a general title of female deities. It should, however, be remarked that there is no trace of an *ī* stroke connected with the *t*.

In the second line the only *akṣara* which is distinct is an initial *ī* which here presents the same archaic appearance as in the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13, l. 1). It is preceded by an *akṣara* of which only the *ū* mark beneath is preserved. The letter following *ī* seems to be an initial *a*. It is not clear, how these two letters could follow each other in a Sanskrit record, but we have had frequent opportunity to observe that the language of the Chambā inscriptions is often far from correct. The remaining portion after the supposed *a* I propose to read *sāha-r*[*ā*]*ṇeṇa*. The *e* stroke over the first *ṇ* can still be traced.

This reading, if correct, would yield the word *rāṇā* in its vernacular form which elsewhere in inscriptions is regularly sanskritized as *rājānaka*. We may assume that the donor of the image belonged to the house of hereditary *rāṇās* who once held sway at Tur, as is evident from the other image inscription (No. 17) discussed above. His name seems to be Asāha or perhaps Asāhya (Irresistible) which is almost identical with that of Aṣāḍha borne by a feudatory of Meru-varman (Inscription No. 9, l. 3). It is also possible that Asāh(y)araṇa is to be taken as one name. The rest of the inscription is too much obliterated to allow of even tentative decipherment.

TEXT.

(L. 2) . . . . . ऊ ई असाह (ह्य)-रणेण

(L. 3) [भग]वत(ती) प्रतिष्ठित(ता) ननेन घट(टिता)

TRANSLATION.

[This image of] Bhagavatī has been erected by Rāṇā Asāh[y]a. It was made by Nana.

No. 20.—ḌAḌVĀṚ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA-DEVA; ŚĀSTRA [41]17 (A.D. 1041).

(PLATES XX AND XXXVII *a*.)

The hamlet of Ḍaḍvāṛ is situated 2½ miles north of Tīsā and belongs to the Tīsā *pargaṇā* of the Curāh *wazārat*. A profusely carved fountain-slab broken into three pieces was found here in 1905. It has since been deposited in the Chambā State Museum (No. A, 6) and refixed. It measures 5′ 9″ in width and 3′ in height. In the centre we recognize Varuṇa with his lotus-flower. On each side of this figure are three horizontal bands of ornamental carvings, the lowermost consisting of a pair of birds with elaborate tails, a design very common on stones of this kind. Beneath Varuṇa is a square opening to receive the spout; on both sides we find the usual dwarf pilaster and eight-petalled lotus-rosette, surmounted by a narrow band of scroll-work. The whole of these carvings are enclosed within a double serpent border.[1]

On the plain rim, between the horizontal top portion of this border and the inner carvings, there runs an inscription in one line, 5′ long, divided into two portions, owing to the fracture of the stone. This inscription is well preserved. The letters, which measure from ½″ to ¾″, though shallow and badly shaped, are legible throughout. Originally the stone had a panel projecting from the centre of its top. Only a corner of it now remains. Beneath it we notice another short line of writing, of which the concluding portion has been lost with the greater part of the panel. The first two *akṣaras* also are indistinct.

I read the preserved portion of this upper line: *Saṁvat 17 Śrīmatrailo*. The last *akṣara*, though partly missing, may be considered as certain. The concluding part of the line cannot have consisted of more than eight *akṣaras*, as the gap is about equal in length to the preserved portion. In view of the Naghai and Bhakūṇḍ fountain-inscriptions (Nos. 21 and 22), which are both dated in the reign of Trailokya-deva,[2] I have no hesitation in restoring the upper line of the Ḍaḍvāṛ inscription as follows: *Saṁvat 17 Śrīma*[*t*][3]*-Trailokyadeva-rājya-saṁvat* followed by a figure expressing the regnal year of Trailokya-deva, in which the stone was erected. It will be seen that the Bhakūṇḍ inscription is dated both in the Śāstra era and in the reign of Trailokya-deva. There can be little doubt that in the present instance also the figure 17 refers to that era. We find it, moreover, repeated in the beginning of the second line, without any mention of a reign, but immediately followed by the notation of the month, fortnight, lunar day, day of the week and *nakṣatra*.

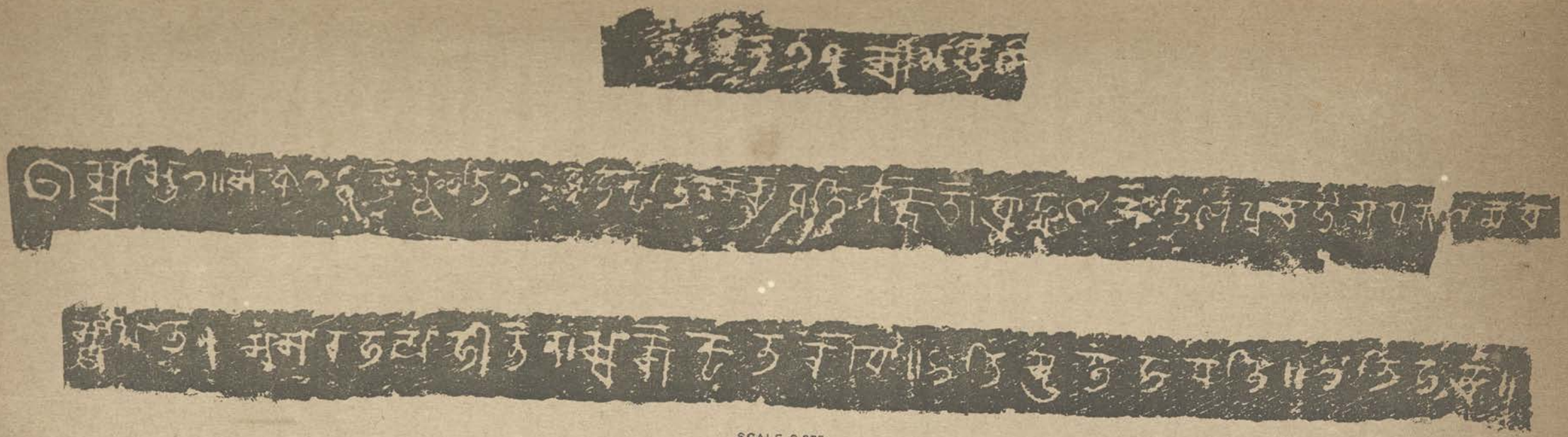
This very full indication of the date enables us to find the corresponding year of the Christian era. We may assume on palæographical grounds that the date lies between A.D. 900 and 1300. The Śāstra year 17 can, therefore, correspond to A.D. 941, 1041, 1141 or 1242. I find that for those four years Jyeṣṭha *bati* 12

[1] Cf. beneath p. 234.

[2] On Trailokya-deva cf. above pp. 71 f.

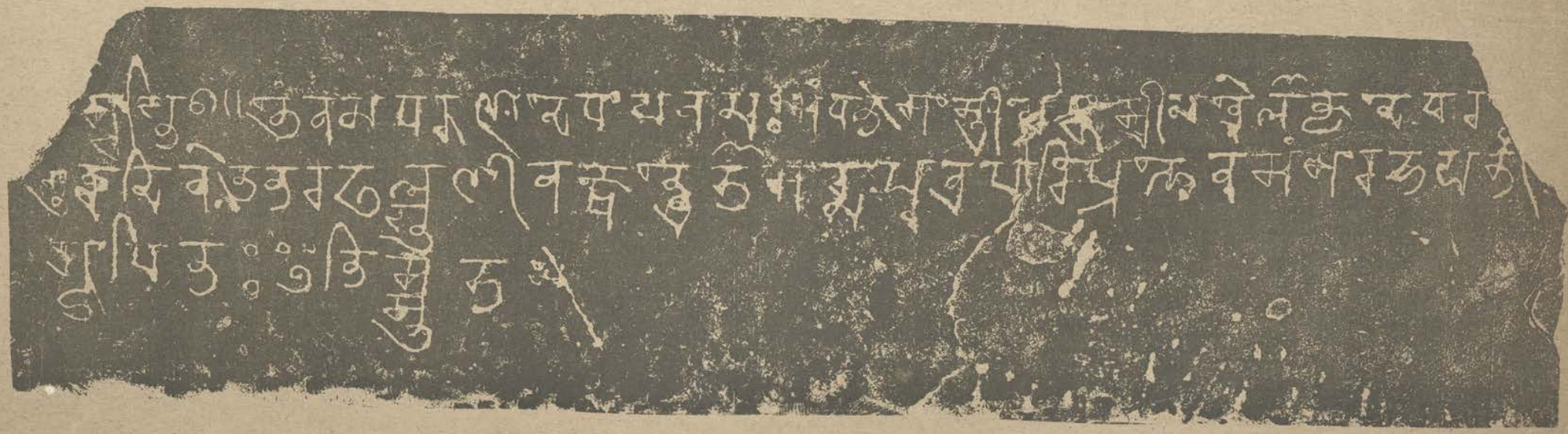
[3] The same mistake occurs in the Bhakūṇḍ inscription.

Ḍaḍvāṛ Fountain Inscription.



SCALE 0·375

Bhakhūṇḍ Fountain Inscription.



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(*pūrṇimānta*) corresponds to April 26, Monday; April 30, Thursday; May 5, Monday, and May 9, Thursday, respectively. As the week-day recorded is Thursday, it follows that the only possible date is the 30th April of A.D. 1041, on which the moon stood in the lunar mansion Revatī.

Thus the Ḍaḍvāṛ inscription has enabled us to fix not only the time of Trailokya-deva, but also that of the Bhakūṇḍ and Naghai fountain stones which were both erected in his reign. For the rest, the document under discussion does not present anything deserving special notice. The language is, as usual in fountain-inscriptions, very corrupt.

TEXT.

संवत् १७ श्रीमत्त्रै[1]लो [क्यदेव-राज्य-संवत्-]

(l. 2.) ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ संव[त्] १७ ज्येष्ठवति १२ बृहस्पतिवारे रेवती[2]-नक्षत्रे । ब्राह्मण-सैहिल-पुत्र-भोग(गेन) वरुण[3]-देव[:*] स्थापित[:*] । संसार-भय-भीतेन । स्वर्गे कृत रेखा ॥ इति शुभं भवति ॥ इति भद्रं ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the year 17; [in the year? of the reign of] the illustrious Trailo[kyadeva.][4]

Hail! In the year 17, [the month of] Jyeṣṭha, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 12, on Thursday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Revatī, has [this] fountain-stone (*lit.* god Varuṇa) been erected by Bhoga, the son of the Brāhmaṇ Saihila, fearing with the fear of existence. A line made in heaven.[5] Thus will it be blessed. Thus [will it be] fortunate.

No. 21.—BHAKŪṆḌ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA-DEVA; ŚASTRA [410]4 (A.D. 1028-9).

(PLATE XX.)

Bhakūṇḍ is a hamlet situated in the Bhakūṇḍ Nālā, some 5 miles north-east of Tīsā Kōṭhī, in the Tīsā *pargaṇā* of the Curāh *wazārat*. An inscribed flat stone, 4′ 9″ long, 1′ 10″ wide and 2″ thick, was discovered here in 1904 on the top of a wall belonging to one of the houses of the village. It is now preserved in the Chambā State Museum (Cat. No. A, 5).

The inscription consists of three lines which measure 4′, 4′ 4″ and 1′ 6″ respectively in length. Unfortunately the proper left end of the slab is broken off, causing the loss of the concluding portions—probably some eight syllables—of each of the first and second lines. At the beginning of the first line the symbol for *Oṁ* also is lost with a corner of the stone. The letters are 1″ to 2″ in size and very distinct, though rather shallow and evidently not cut by a professional sculptor.

The language of the Bhakūṇḍ inscription is less faulty than that of later fountain inscriptions. *Saṁdhi* rules are neglected in *nama* (l. 1) and *Śukkradine*

[1] The original, as remarked above, has *Śrīmatrai*.

[2] The original has *Revati-*.

[3] The stone is broken through between the *akṣaras ru* and *ṇa*, owing to which the latter is partly destroyed.

[4] The words placed between square brackets are missing in the original.

[5] The meaning of this phrase I cannot explain.

(l. 2). The single consonant has been substituted for the double in *Śrīma-Trailokya-* (l. 1) and *utara-* (l. 2), and the double consonant for the single one in *Śukkradine* (l. 2), *-nakṣattre* (l. 2) and *iti śśubham* (l. 3). The lingual *ṇ* has been used instead of the dental in *Phalguṇī-* (l. 2). The character shows some remarkable archaic features. The *akṣara ṇa* (l. 1, less pronounced in l. 2) still retains a remnant of the ancient base stroke. Medial *e* is throughout expressed by the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* except in *-dine* (l. 2) where the superscribed sign is used. Medial *ai* in *-Trailokya-* is rendered by the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* and the superscribed stroke combined. For medial *o*, on the contrary, the superscribed mark is used throughout. The ligature *stha* (l. 3) has its later type. The cursive loops of the *akṣaras u, ta, da, ma* deserve special notice.

The man who erected the Bhakūṇḍ fountain stone was apparently not a Rāṇā but a Brāhman, judging from his father's name ending in *-śarman* and from the absence of any titles. The inscription is dated both in the Śāstra era and in the reign of Trailokya-deva, but the notation of the regnal year, of the month, the fortnight and the lunar day has been lost at the end of the first line. From the Ḍaḍvāṛ fountain inscription (No. 20), however, we have drawn the conclusion that Trailokya-deva lived in the first half of the 11th century. The Śāstra year 4 of the present epigraph must, therefore, correspond to the 28th or 29th year of the 11th century of our era.

TEXT.

स्वस्ति: ॥ ओं नम वरुण-देवाय नमः संवत् शास्त्रीये ४ श्रीम-त्रैलोक्यदेव-र . . .

[l. 2] शुक्रदिने उतरफल्गुणी-नक्षत्रे भोशर्म-पुत्र-परिपूर्णेन संसार-भय-भी . . . . . .

[l. 3] स्थापितः इति शुभम्

CORRECTED READING.

[ओं] स्वस्ति: ॥ ओं नमो वरुण-देवाय नमः । संवत् शास्त्रीये ४ श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यदेव-रा[ज्य—][1]

[l. 2] शुक्रदिन उत्तरफाल्गुनी-नक्षत्रे भोशर्म-पुत्र-परिपूर्णेन संसार-भय-भी[तेन वरुण-देवः.[2]]

[l. 3] स्थापितः । इति शुभम् ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Adoration to the god Varuṇa, adoration! In the Śāstra year 4, in the reign of the illustrious Trailokya-deva . . . . . on Friday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Uttaraphālgunī, has this fountain-stone (*lit.* god Varuṇa) been erected by Paripūrṇa, the son of Bho-śarman, fearing with the fear of existence. Blessed be it!

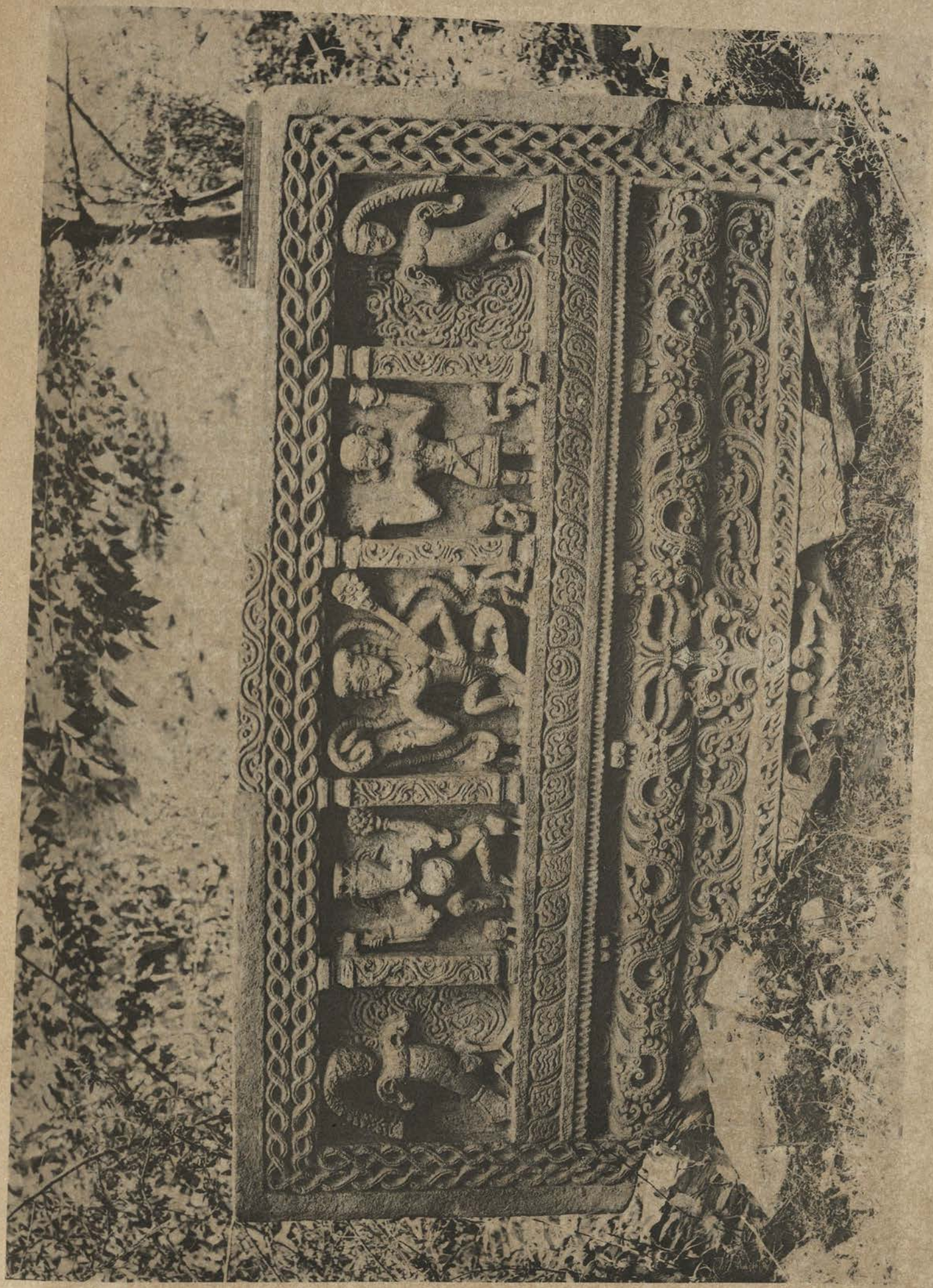
No. 22.—NAGHAI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE RĀJANAKA DEVA-PRASĀDA DATED IN THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA-DEVA.

(PLATES XXI-XXII.)

About 1895 half a dozen carved fountain-slabs of large size were unearthed in the jungle below the village of Naghai, 2 miles south of Sai Kōṭhī in Curāh. The largest specimen, which is still standing and measures 5′ 2″ in height by 6′ 7″ in width, is much defaced. The upper portion is divided into five panels, each of which

[1] The curve of *ya* is still visible.

[2] This portion can be restored with certainty from analogous passages in other fountain inscriptions.



Naghai Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 3' 6"

contains a figure. The central figure armed with a trident and a mace evidently represents some divinity, perhaps Varuṇa the god of the waters, in whose honour such slabs are usually erected. To his right we find a standing male figure with a sword in his right hand, a shield in his left, and a dagger in his girdle. To the left of the central panel there are two figures, possibly meant for a woman with a child. Each corner panel has a rudely carved horseman. In the middle of the lower portion of the slab a square hole has been cut out to allow the water to run through. It is enclosed on each side by a dwarf pilaster and a lotus-rosette. Over each division there runs a horizontal band of decorative design, whilst a serpent-border encloses the whole of the carvings. Behind this stone there are two smaller slabs, each 1′ 5½″ high and 6′ 6″ wide, one of which is still standing.

Another large-sized slab, the lower portion of which is broken, measures 3′ 6″ in height and 6′ 4¼″ in width and is divided into two portions by a broad horizontal border of exquisitely carved scroll-work, in the centre of which a pair of birds are introduced. Over and beneath this border there runs a narrow band of leaf ornament. The upper division consists of a row of five sunk panels, each containing a clumsily carved figure, separated by square pilasters. The central panel is occupied by a seated deity holding a snake in his right, and a lotus flower on a long stalk in his left hand. To his right is a kind of animal, perhaps meant for a *vāhana*, and to his left a miniature human figure. In the panel adjoining the central one to the proper right we recognize Gaṇeśa, holding a hatchet and a flower, accompanied by two animals which probably represent mice. The corresponding panel to the proper left side contains a female figure standing with her two hands raised, palms upwards. The left hand holds a water-vessel. She wears, besides the usual ornaments, only a short petticoat reaching down to the knees and fastened round the loins by means of a girdle. The two little figures seated on each side at her feet evidently represent children. Each of the corner panels contains the figure of a harpy (*kinnarī*) with little wings instead of arms, a short bird's tail and a long crest falling down from the head. The carvings are enclosed on the three sides within a double serpent border.

The lower portion of the slab must have had a spout-hole in the centre, flanked by two dwarf pilasters, the capitals of which are still extant. Between them we distinguish a pair of apparently flying figurines which must once have surmounted the spout-opening. Over the figure of Varuṇa also a portion of the stone is broken off. Presumably it was a projecting square panel as is sometimes found on fountain-slabs. (Cf. fig. 11).

Along the raised narrow band beneath the row of figures there runs an inscription in one line, which is continued on a similar band between the leaf and scroll-work borders. The first line measures 5′ 3″ in length and the second only 10″.[1] The letters, which are ½″ to ⅝″ in size, are very shallow and indistinct, especially in the beginning portion of the epigraph. The reading of this part is therefore uncertain. The inscription records the erection of a "Varuṇa-deva"—*i.e.* the slab on which it is carved—by Deva-prasāda, the son of Rāṇā Nāga-prasāda, the son of Nāguka for the sake of [the bliss in] the other world of Rāṇī Mekhalā. We may assume that the Rāṇī who may have been the wife of Deva-prasāda, is represented

[1] On the accompanying plate XXII the first line is divided into four.

on the stone by the female figure at the side of Varuṇa. That the persons, for whose sake such stones were erected, were sometimes portrayed on them is proved by the Sai example (No. 35). The circumstance that the Rāṇī is accompanied by two children and another child kneels down at the feet of Varuṇa, perhaps gives a clue as to the peculiar reason, for which it was considered necessary to erect so elaborate a stone for the sake of the deceased Rāṇī. It is said to be still the custom in Chambā to erect stones for women who have died in child-bed. This custom is based on a wide-spread superstition that the souls of women who die in child-bed become evil spirits.

Possibly for this same reason the Naghai stone was erected to assure peace to the deceased Rāṇī in the next world and to her relatives in this one.

TEXT.

[ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ परमभट्टारक[1]-] महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीम[त्त्रै]लोक्य-देव-राज्य-संवत् ३[2] श्रावण-वति — चन्द्रदिने धनिष्ठा-नक्षत्रे स्थापितं। महाश्री-नागुकपौत्रेण राजानक-श्री-नागप्रसाद-पुत्रेन श्री-देवप्रसादेन राज्ञी-श्री-मेखलाया[:*] परलोकार्थं व(l. 2)रुण-देव[:*] स्थापितम् (तः।) श्रुति शुभम् [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the 3rd (?) year of the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Trailokya, in [the month of] Śrāvaṇa, the dark fortnight, the lunar day, on Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Dhaniṣṭhā [was this stone] erected. By the grandson of the very illustrious Nāgu(ka), by the son of the Rāṇā the illustrious Nāgaprasāda, by the illustrious Deva-prasāda was this fountain-stone (*lit.* god Varuṇa) erected for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of the Rāṇī, the illustrious Mekhalā. Blessed be it!

No. 23.—BĀHṆOTĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SOMA-VARMAN.—(PLATE XXIII.)

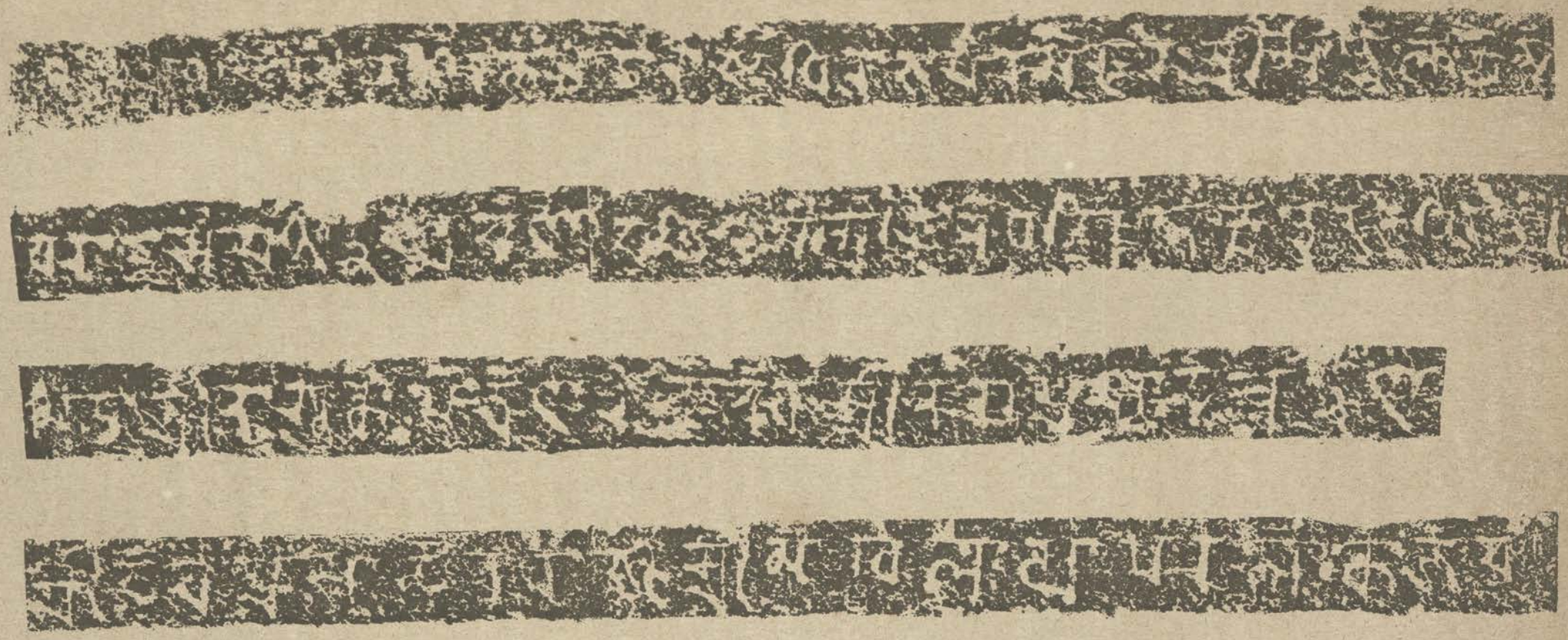
In the summer of 1908 an inscribed fragment of a fountain-slab was discovered near the village of Bāhṇotā in the Lōh-Ṭikrī *pargaṇā* of the Curāh *wazārat*. It is now placed in the State Museum and numbered A, 7. When discovered, the stone was used in a flight of steps leading up to a dwelling-house, which accounts for the central portion of the lettering being much worn. Besides, the stone is broken on both sides, so that, to the right and to the left, parts of the inscription are missing. The remaining fragment is 1′ 9½″ high and 1′ 4″ wide. The upper half is carved with horizontal bands of decorative design, through the middle of which there runs a plain rim with one line of writing 12″ long. The lower half is inscribed with eight lines (2-9) partly obliterated. This part of the inscription, when complete, must have occupied an oblong panel, measuring about 20″ in width and 10″ in height, which probably was placed over the spout-opening of the slab.

[1] The first ten *akṣaras* are partly traceable.

[2] Between 3 and *śrā* there is a depression which possibly represents zero. There is sufficient space for a second figure, but the surface is worn.

Naghai Fountain Inscription.

1



2

SCALE 0·60

Lines 2-5 are $10\frac{1}{2}''$ to $11''$ in length, but the concluding portion (ll. 6-9) is only preserved for a width of $7''$.

As the contents of the inscription are very similar to those of other such documents found in the Lōh-Ṭikrī *pargaṇā*, it is possible to restore the missing portion to a certain extent. Thus it appears that between the second and the third lines ten *akṣaras* are lost and between the sixth and seventh lines fifteen *akṣaras*. If the first line contained the full stanza which in a modified form occurs in the Bharāṛā fountain inscription (No. 36) also, we may infer that on the proper right side sixteen syllables are lost and that, consequently, on this side the larger part of the stone is broken off. For this reason, I have placed the restored portions at the beginning of the lines.

The inscription was evidently fully dated both in the Śāstra era and in the regnal year of the ruling chief Rājā Soma-varman, whose name is found in line 3. Had it been complete, it would thus have enabled us to fix the year of accession of that prince and at the same time the date of Ananta-deva's invasion and Sālavāhana's dethronement. Unfortunately the Śāstra year as well as the regnal year are lost. So is the name of the donor. From other sources we know that Soma-varman's accession must have taken place about the middle of the 11th century and that Āsaṭa succeeded him before 1087-8. These data supply an approximate date for the Bāhṇotā fountain inscription.

Line 1 and lines 5-7 contain four stanzas which, as remarked above, occur on other fountain-slabs and can be restored, except the one in lines 5-6 which has not been found elsewhere. These verses all emphasize the merit of erecting a fountain-stone in honour of the god Varuṇa. The Sanskṛit seems here to be less incorrect than in similar passages of other inscriptions. The concluding two lines of the epigraph are apparently composed in the vernacular, but their fragmentary state renders it impossible to interpret them.

The inscription is well executed. The letters, as far as they are preserved, are well-shaped and distinct. They measure about $\frac{5}{8}''$ to $\frac{3}{4}''$ in height. A peculiarity which is also noticeable on the copper-plates of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa, is that postconsonantic *i* and *ī* are sometimes expressed by a flourish written over the consonant and turned towards the proper right and left respectively, but not continued along the side of the consonant. See *e. g.* the word *Aśvinī* in line 2.

TEXT.

[न च वरुणात्परं धर्मं न च रुणात्परं तपं ।] न च वरु[णात्प]रं देवं तृषु लोकेषु वि[श्रुतं ॥][1]

(l. 2) [ओं स्वस्तिः । शास्त्र-संवत् . .] आ . श्रुति १५ सौरीदिने[2] अश्विनी-नक्षत्रे प[रम-]

(l. 3) [भट्टारक-महाराजा]धिराज-प[रमेश्व]र-श्रीमत्सोमवर्म-देव[3]-रा[ज्य-]

(l. 4) [संवत् . . . . . .] पित्रीणां [मात्रीनां[4] . . .] य परलोका[र्थं]

(l. 5) [वरुणदेवः स्थापितः । ⏑ ⏑ तेन शरो [रेण ⏑]च भवो न वस — ।

---

[1] This pseudo-*śloka* has been restored according to the reading of the Bharāṛā inscription (No. 36). In correct Sanskṛit it would be: न वरुणात्परो धर्मो न वरुणात्परं तपः । न वरुणात्परो देवः तृषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः ॥

[2] The vowel strokes over *s* and *r* are still traceable.

[3] Read सोमवर्म-देव°. [4] Read पितॄणां मातॄणां

(l. 6) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ [प्राप्तो] लोको हि शाश्वितः[1] [॥*] गवां[2] [कोटि-प्रदानेन]
(l. 7) [ग्रहण सोमसूर्ययो। स]म-तुल्य-फलं देवी वरुणं य[illegible] प्रतिष्ठयेत्]
(l. 8) . . . . . बणइ। धण सचैइ . . . .
(l. 9) . . . . . यइ खणि जइ ॥ श्री . . . .

TRANSLATION.[3]

No higher religious merit than [*the erection of*] *a Varuṇa* [*slab*]. *No higher ascetic merit than* [*the erection of*] *a Varuṇa slab.* No higher god than Varuṇa *is known* in the three worlds.

Hail! In the Śāstra-year . . , [in the month of] Ā . , on the 15th day of the bright fortnight, on Saturday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Aśvinī. *In the year . . of the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord,* the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent . . . . . for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of the deceased ancestors, male *and female,* . . . . [*this*] *fountain-stone* (literally *god Varuṇa*) *has been erected* . . . . . by the body . . . . . the eternal world *is gained. By a gift of ten million* cows *at an eclipse of the sun or moon* an equal merit [is attained as by him] *who erects* [*an image of*] *Devī or Varuṇa* . . . . . .

No. 24.—KULAIT COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMA-VARMAN.

(PLATE XXIV.)

This copper-plate grant of Rājā Soma-varman was brought to my notice in the summer of 1902. I subsequently edited it in my paper on inscriptions in Chambā State.[4] The copper-plate is $14\frac{3}{4}''$ wide and $10\frac{3}{4}''$ high, and consists of twenty-four horizontal lines. In the proper right margin the subscription of the donor and two short lines, containing the names of the officials concerned with the grant are written vertically. Over these the signature of the previous Rājā, Sālavāhana, the father of Soma-varman, can still be traced, partly running through the initial *akṣaras* of lines 5-17. The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except along the proper right margin where both corners are broken. In the upper corner the symbol *oṁ*, the initial *akṣaras* of the first two lines and the initial *akṣaras* of the subscription are missing. In the lower corner five *akṣaras* of line 22, probably two of line 23, and one of line 24 have been lost, besides the lower portions of the two short vertical lines in the margin. Along the lower edge of the plate some rents are visible, one of which has been clamped. The letters are well-engraved; their average size is $\frac{3}{16}''$ to $\frac{1}{4}''$.

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[1] Read शाश्वतः

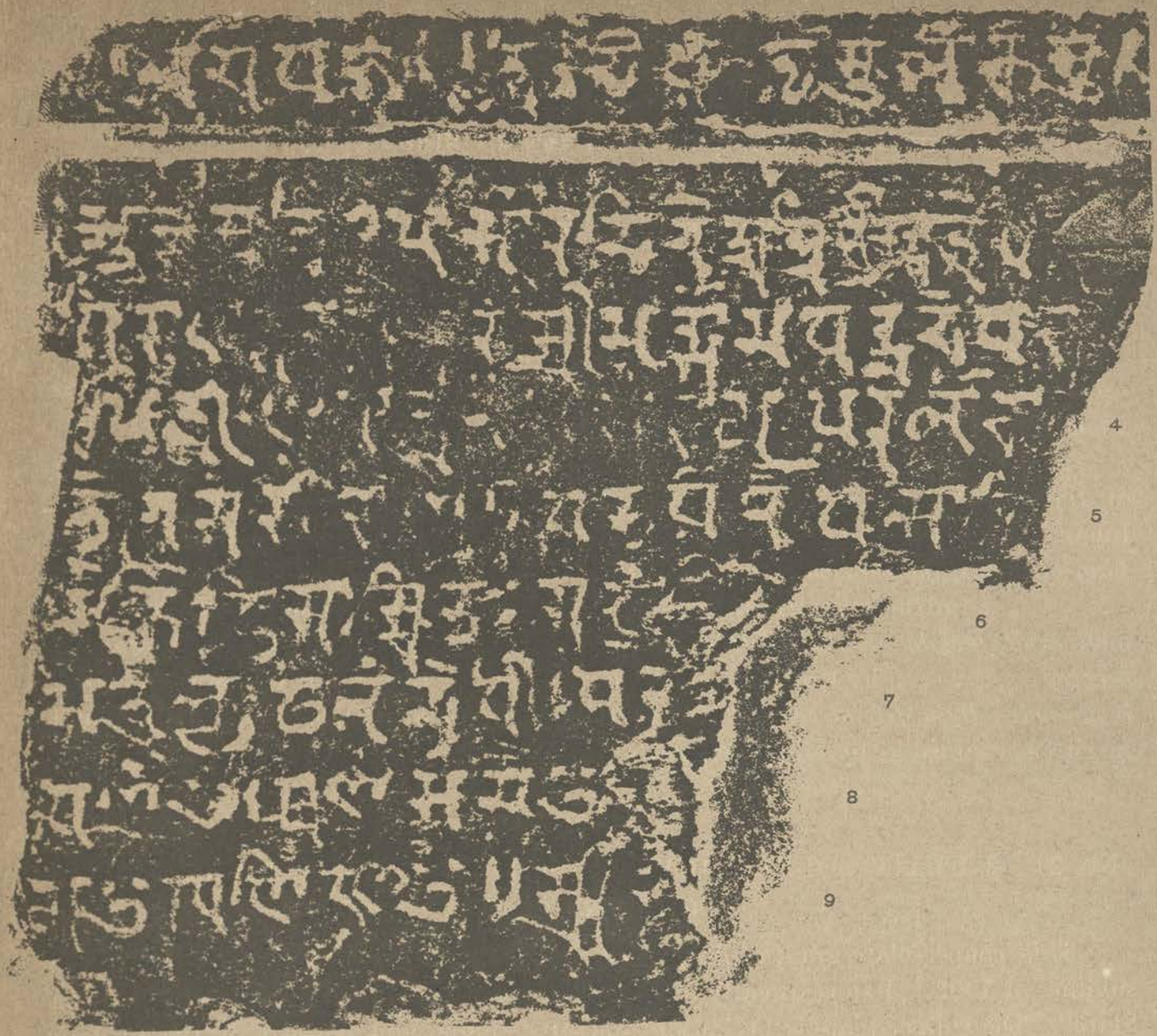
[2] This *śloka* has been restored according to the reading of the Bharāṛā inscription (No. 36, ll. 14-17). It also occurs in the Lōh-Ṭikrī (No. 29, ll. 7-11), the Mangalōā (No. 41, ll. 5-7) and the Sukōi inscriptions (No. 43, ll. 5-8). In correct Sanskṛit it would be गवां कोटिप्रदानेन ग्रहणे सोम-सूर्ययोः। सम-तुल्य-फलं देवी वरुणो वा प्रतिष्ठितः॥

The *pāda* गवां कोटिप्रदानेन occurs in a *śloka* found in copper-plate inscriptions (No. 14, ll. 17-18, No. 25, ll. 25-27.)

[3] The vernacular fragments in lines 8 and 9 I have left untranslated.

[4] *A. R. A. S.* for 1902-03, pp. 255 ff. with facsimile III.

Bāhṇotā Fountain Inscription.



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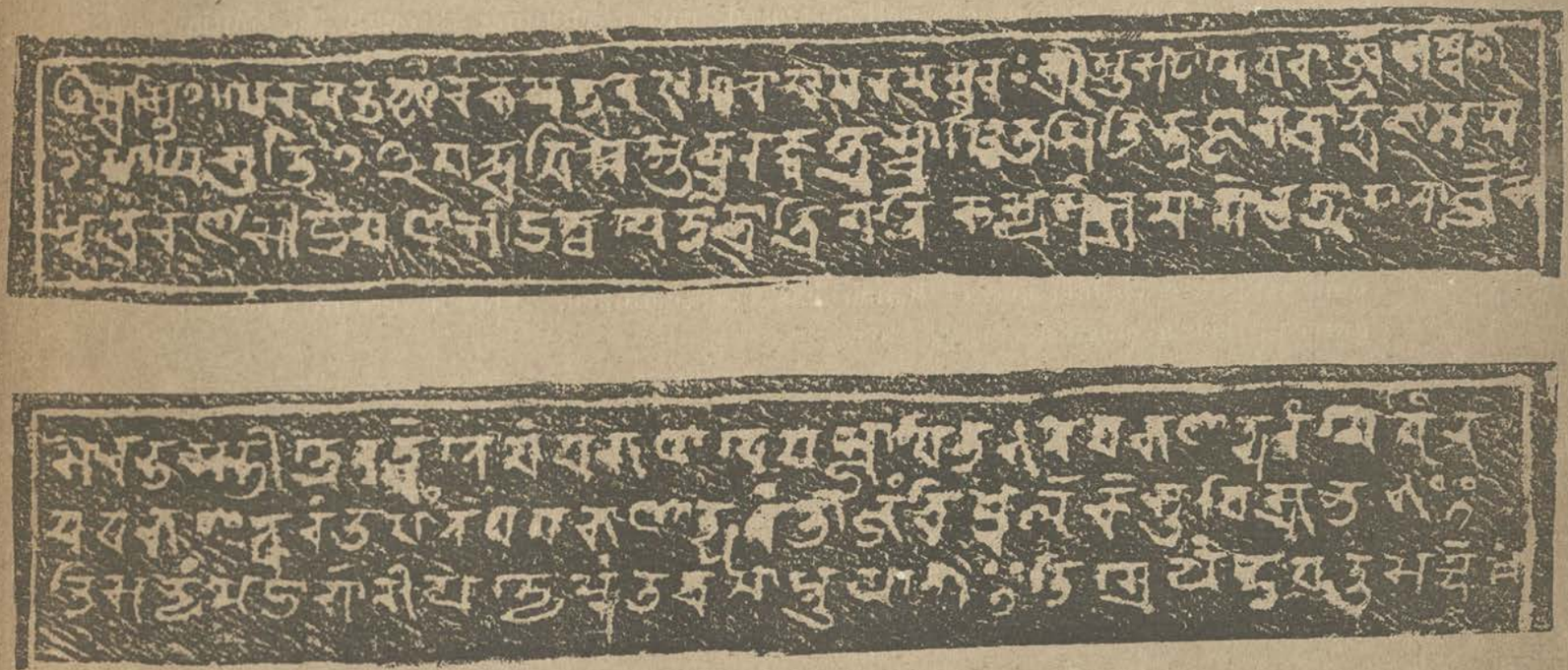
Sīyā Fountain Inscription.



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The plate records a grant of land by Rājā Soma-varman, the son of Sālavāhana. The latter, as we know from the Rājataraṅgiṇī,[1] was deposed by king Ananta-deva of Kaśmīr and replaced by another ruler. From the fact, just noted, that Sālavāhana's signature is still traceable on the plate, there can be little doubt that Soma-varman was his immediate successor, and consequently the new ruler installed by Ananta. The granted land was situated at Kulakagoṣṭha, the modern Kulait, in the district of Trighaṭṭaka which corresponds to the Trēhṭā *pargaṇā* on the Upper Rāvī.

The inscription opens with a stanza in the *Puṣpitāgrā* metre, in praise of the three great gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The same verse is found at the beginning of another copper-plate grant issued by Soma-varman together with his brother and successor Āsaṭa (No. 25, ll. 1-2), and also in a corrupt form in the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33). Subsequently no less than nine lines (2-10) are devoted to a eulogy of Sāhilla the glorified ancestor of the donor. This passage recurs also, with slight modifications, on the title-deed of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa. The praise lavished on the reputed founder of Chambā is not merely of the conventional kind usually found in Indian inscriptions. It speaks of a successful war waged by him against the Kīra troops of the Lord of Ḍugar (Durgara) and their allies the Saumaṭikas, of his alliance with the ruler of Kāṅgṛā (Trigarta) and of his suzerainty over the principality of Kuḷū (Kulūta). It mentions a pilgrimage performed by Sāhilla to Kurukṣetra on the occasion of a solar eclipse, and his great liberality on that occasion. Apparently his gift of "a multitude of elephants" which afforded him the honorific title of "Elephant-rain[2]" had the desired effect of securing offspring for his house, through the favour of its mythical progenitor, the sun-god Bhāskara.

The encomium bestowed on Soma-varman himself is, on the contrary, purely conventional, though no less elaborate. We may conclude, therefore, that this prince had not rendered himself conspicuous by any exploits. Whether he had really "uprooted and replanted the royal power of several princes" may rightly be doubted, as this belonged to the *dharma* of every right-minded ruler of ancient India.

The inscription is dated in the 7th year of Soma-varman's reign, but, as stated above, there are no data to fix the exact time of his accession. All that can be said with certainty is, that it cannot be far removed from the middle of the 11th century. When first editing this plate, I assumed that its date could be fixed owing to its having been issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse. But on re-examining the original, I have come to the conclusion that the damaged syllable following that indicating the month (*Bhā.* i.e. *Bhādrapada*) is *śu* and not *kṛ*, as I first read it. It is, therefore, certain that the date of the inscription does not coincide with that of the solar eclipse at which the grant was made. Other instances are known of copper-plate grants being dated on a day subsequent to the donation.[3]

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[1] *Rājat.* VII 218 ; transl. Stein, Vol. I., p. 286.

[2] It reminds of the name of Kaṅkaṇavarṣa "Bracelet-rain" borne, according to *Rājat.* IV 246, by a Tukhāra magician, brother of Lalitāditya's general Cāṅkuṇa and also by king Kṣemagupta (*Rājat.* VI 161).

[3] See Prof. Kielhorn's *Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 502 in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, App. p. 70.

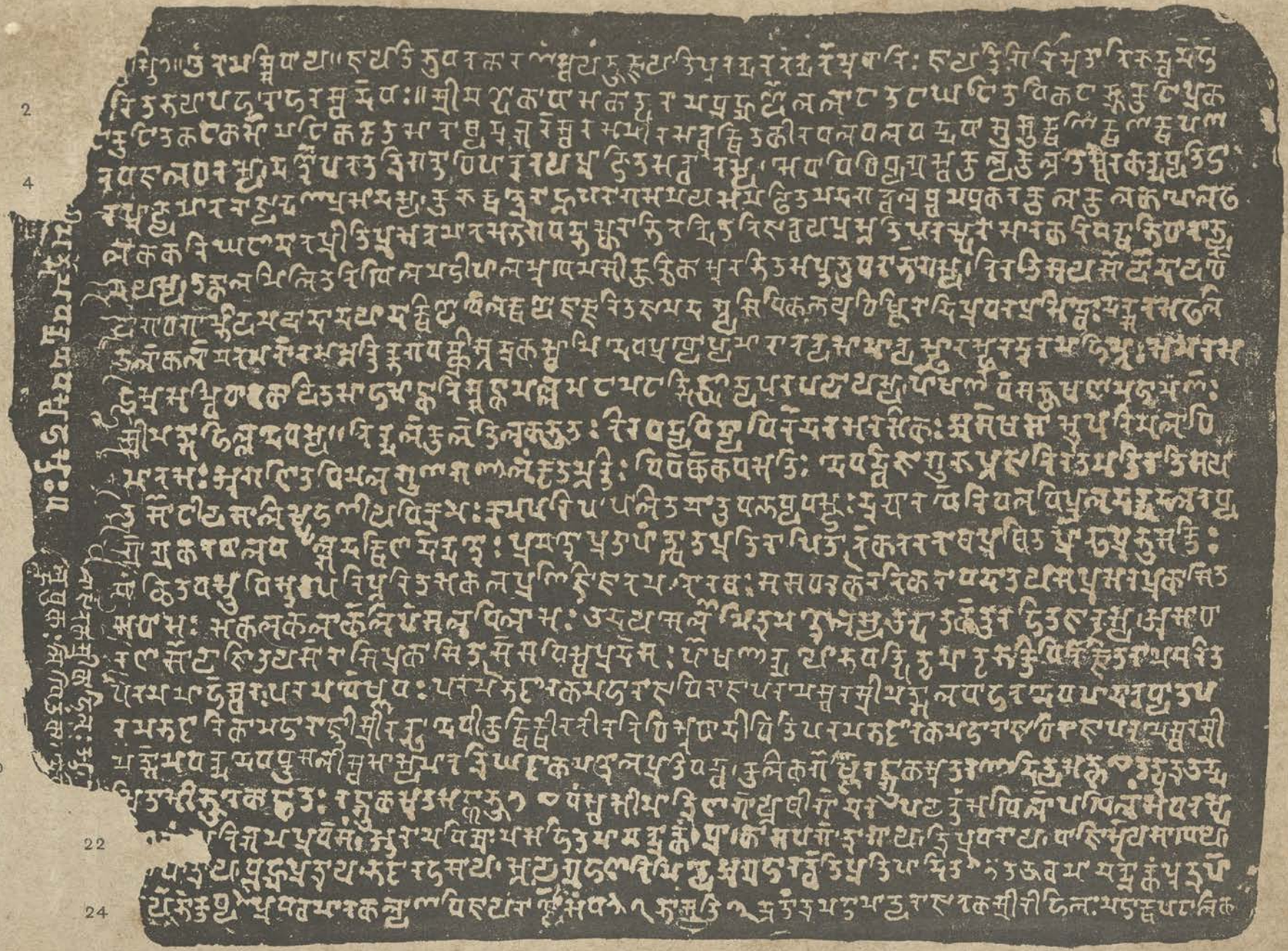
It is a point of special interest that both the Prime Minister (Skr. *mahāmātya*) and the Great Record-keeper (Skr. *mahākṣapaṭalika*) mentioned as "messengers" at the end of the title-deed, bear the title *rājānaka*, i.e. *rāṇā*. Whether this title here denotes a feudatory chief or is merely honorary, does not appear, but the former alternative seems more likely. The name of a third official is only partly preserved. Between the initial *ā* and the three syllables *-lhuthukaḥ* in the next line some eight *akṣaras* appear to be missing. We may, therefore, assume that here also the official's personal name was preceded by his designation, perhaps *ākṣapaṭalika* "connected with the *akṣapaṭala* office."[1] It will be noticed that the *ā* is followed by a short almost vertical stroke which is also found after *kā* (for *kāyastha*) in the next line and after *brā* (for *brāhmaṇa*) in line 22, and evidently is meant to indicate an abbreviation. If so, this *ā* may stand for *ākṣapaṭalika* and the missing portion may have been the word *rājānaka*, followed by *Śrī* and the initial letter or letters of the official's personal name. The name of the *kāyastha* of which only the initial *akṣara de* is preserved, may be restored with some degree of probability from the grant of Āsaṭa (No. 26, l. 21), which was written by two *kāyasthas*, one of whom is called Śivapa the son of Devapa.

Soma-varman's grant, though neatly engraved, is by no means free from errors. Most of these seem to be due to thoughtlessness on the part of the engraver. Sometimes we find syllables or even words left out, which we have restored from inscription No. 25. On the other hand, we find a syllable repeated in *paripāpālita* (l. 13). Vowel-marks have been omitted in *Kurukṣattra* (l. 5) for which No. 25, l. 5, has the correct form *Kurukṣetra*; in *pratirāpita* (l. 14) for *pratiropita* and in *udayaśelo* (l. 16) for *udayaśailo*. Mistakes for which the author of the inscription may be held responsible are partly due to the peculiar local pronunciation of Sanskrit. Thus we find *ri* for *ṛ* in *triṇa* (l. 21), *j* for *y* in *praṇiji* (l. 15), and an interchange of sibilants in *maśī* (l. 7) for *maṣī*, *visva* (l. 17) for *viśva*, *sāsyamāna* (l. 20) for *śāsyamāna*. The form *vaiśa* (l. 10) for *vaṁśa* nearly represents the local pronunciation *beṁsa*. For the rest such mistakes are almost entirely limited to trespasses of *saṁdhi* rules which I have left uncorrected in my transcript. Marks of punctuation have been frequently omitted.

TEXT.

[ओं स्व]स्तिः ॥ ओं नमश्शिवाय ॥ जयति भुवन-कारणं स्वयंभू र्जयति पुरन्दर-नन्दनो मुरारिः [।*] जयति गिरिसुता-निरुद्ध-देहो (l. 2) [दु]रित-भयापहरो हरश्च देवः ॥ श्री-चण्पका-वासकात्परम-ब्रह्मण्यो ललाट-तट-घटित-विकट-भ्रुकुटि-प्रक-(l. 3) ट-कुटि(ट्टि)त-कटक-सौमटिक-कृतसानाथ्य-दर्गरेश्वर-समीर-सन्धुक्षित-कीर-बल-बलवद्दवाशुशुक्षणि-क्षण-क्षपण-(l. 4) नव-जलधरस्य । दण्डोपनत-त्रिगर्ताधिपानुनय-प्रार्थित-सन्धानस्य । सेवा-विधि-व्यग्र-स्वकुल्य-कुलूतेश्वर-कर्म-व्यतिहा-(l. 5)र-प्रार्थ्यमान-राज्यार्पण-प्रसादस्य । कुरुक्षत्रे(क्षेत्रे) राहूपराग-समय-समर्थि(र्पि)त-मद-गन्ध-लुब्ध-मधुकर-कुलाकुल-कपोल-फ-(l. 6)लक-करि-घटा-दान-प्रीति-प्रसन्न-मानस-भगवद्भास्कराभि नन्दित-निजान्वय-प्रसूति-परम्परा-सार-करिवर्षाभिधानाम्बु-(l. 7) दयस्य तत्काल-मिलित-निखिल-

[1] *Cf.* above No. 14, l. 19 and beneath No. 26, l. 21; also Stein's note at *Rājat.* V, 301 and Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, p. 102.



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महीपाल-मुख-मशी(षी)-कूर्चिका-[*कीर्ति-[1]] सुरभित-सप्त-भुवनाभोगस्य । निरतिशय-शौर्यौदार्य-धै (l. 8) र्यागाध-गाम्भीर्य-मर्यादा-दया-दाक्षिण्य-वैलक्षण्य-जर्जरित-जामदग्न्य-शिबि-कर्ण-युधिष्ठिरादि-प्रवर-प्रसिद्धेः दर्शन-सफलि-(l. 9)त-लोक-लोचन-मनोरम-मूर्तिं (र्तें) भगवच्छ्री-शूद्रक-स्वामि-देव-प्रख्याप्यमानानन्य-सामान्य-स्फार-स्फुरदुर(रु)-महिम्नः समर-स-(l. 10) हस्र-सन्निधान-कार्यित(कोपा-र्जित[2])-साहसाङ्क-निश्शङ्कमल्ल-मटमटत्सिङ्हा(त्सिंहा)-व्यपर-पर्यायस्य । पौ(मौ)षण[3]-वै(वं)श्य-भूषण-महामणेः (l. 11) श्रीमत्साहिल्ल-देवस्य ॥ निर्मले कुले तिलक-भूतः निरवद्य-विद्या-विनोद-रस-रसिकः अशेष-शास्त्र-परिमलाधि[*वासित[4]-] (l. 12)मानसः अगणित-विमल-गुण-गणालंकृत-मूर्तिः विवेकैक-वसतिः देव-द्विज-गुरु-पूजा-निरत-मतिरतिशय(यि)- (l. 13) त-शौटीर्य-शालि-स्पृहणीय-विक्रमः क्रम-परिपापालित (परिपालित)-चातुवर्ण (चातुर्वर्ण्य)-व्यवस्थः दुर्वार-वैरि-बल-विपुल-दर्प-दलन-व्य-(l. 14) ग्रोग्र-करवाल-वल्ला[न*]-दक्षिण-दोर्दण्डः प्रचण्ड-प्रतापोत्खात-प्रतिरा-(रो) पितानिक-नरनाथ-प्रथित-प्रौढ-प्रभु-शक्तिः (l.15) वांछित-वस्तु-विस्तर-परिपूरित-सकल-प्रणिजि (णयि)-जन-मनोरथः शशधर-कर-निकरावदात-यशः[:*]-प्रसर-प्रकाशित-(l. 16)सर्वाशः सकल-कला-केलि-पेशल-विलासः उदय-शै(शै)लो मित्र-मण्डलस्य उन्पा(त्पा)त-केतुरहित-जनस्य । असाधा-(l. 17) रण-शौर्याजि(र्जि)त-यशो-राशि-प्रकाशिताशेश(ष)-विस्र(श्व)-प्रदेशः पौ(मौ)षणान्म(न्व)-यीभ(ङ्ग) वत्पितृ[5]-मातृ-भक्ति-विनिर्जित-राम-चरित (l. 18) परममाहेश्वरः परमवैष्णवः परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमत्सालवाहन-देव-पादानुध्यात-प-(l. 19) रमभट्टारिका-महाराज्ञी-श्री-रढा-देवी-कुक्षि-क्षीरनीरनिधि-सुधादीधिति-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्री-(l. 20) मत्सोमवर्म-देव× कुशली स्व-सा(शा)स्यमान-क्षिप्रदृक-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-। कुलिकगोष्ठि[6] रङ्गुक-सुत-रणादित्य-सत्क एतत्पुत्र-उम्र (l. 21)-स्थि[7] तासी [*दु] भूरेकाङ्कतः रङ्गुक-सुत-सङ्ग(त्क)-भू १ एवं स्व-सीमा-क्षि(तृ)ण-गोयूथी(गव्यूति)-गोचर-पर्यन्तं स-खिलोपखिलं स-वनस्प-(l. 22) [त्युदकं स]-निर्गम-प्रवेशं । आराम-विश्राम-सहितमा-चन्द्रार्कं । ब्रा । काश्य(श्य)प-गोत्रागाय(गोत्राय) । क्षिप्रवराय । वाजिसनेय (वाजसनेय)-शाखाय । (l. 23) — — — पौत्राय । ब्रह्म-पुत्राय । भट्ट-रहशाय । सूर्य-ग्रहण-निमित्ते[8] अग्रहारत्वेति-प्रतिपादितं इत ऊर्ध(र्ध्व)मा-चन्द्रार्कं [9]पुत्र-पौ-(l. 24) [त्र]यो[र्] भोक्तव्यम् [*।] प्रवर्धमान-कल्याण-विजय-राज्ये संवत् ७ भा शुति ३ दूतो त्र महामात्य-राजा-नक-श्री-रोहिलः महाक्षपटलिक-(l. 25)राजानक-श्री-काहिलः आ . . . . . (l. 26) ल्हुथुकः[*।] लिखितं का. दे[वपेन[10]]

[श्री]मत्सोमवर्म-देव-स्वहस्तः ॥ Original subscription. [श्री]मत्सालवाहन-देव-स्वहस्तः ॥

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[1] This word has been supplied from the corresponding passage in No. 25, l. 7. Possibly a word like *varṇita* is also missing after *kūrcikā*.

[2] Restored from No. 25, l. 9.

[3] *Cf.* above p. 97.

[4] Restored from No. 25, l. 11.

[5] The correct reading is probably मौषणान्वयीश्वर× पित°

[6] The stroke between *go* and *sthe* is evidently due to accident.

[7] This *akṣara* is partly destroyed.

[8] The last *akṣara* is damaged.

[9] More correct is the expression पुत्रपौत्रान्वयीपभोग्या found in No. 15, l. 17.

[10] *Cf.* No. 26, l. 21.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Reverence to Śiva. Victorious is the Cause of the world, the Self-existent (Brahmā). Victorious is the son of (Śiva or Indra) the Destroyer of castles, the Enemy of Mura (Kṛṣṇa). Victorious is He, whose body is held by the Mountain-daughter (Durgā), He who removes distress and danger—Hara the god.

(L. 2) From his residence at the glorious Caṇpakā, the highly devout [king Soma-varman], who is an ornament of the spotless house of the illustrious Sāhilla of divine descent—that great jewel adorning the race of Mūṣaṇa[1]—who (Sāhilla) was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kīra forces, fanned, as by the wind, by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saumaṭikas, whose camp was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown produced on the slope of his (Sāhilla's) forehead; whose (Sāhilla's) alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force; who (Sāhilla) was asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman, the Lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage; who (Sāhilla) had the fortunate name of Karivarṣa (Elephant-rain) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity joyfully granted by the Lord Bhāskara (the Sun-god), whose mind was contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants, whose flat cheeks were covered by a swarm of bees attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed[2] in Kurukṣetra at the time of an eclipse; who (Sāhilla) has made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant *by his fame* [painted] with the ink-brushes which were the mouths of all the princes assembled (at Kurukṣetra) on that occasion (the solar eclipse); who (Sāhilla), by his unequalled kindness and compassion combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, firmness and unfathomable profoundness, has impaired the fame of Jamadagni's son (Paraśurāma), Śibi, Karṇa Yudhiṣṭhira and such-like heroes; by looking upon whose (Sāhilla's) lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful; whose (Sāhilla's) widespread greatness brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence was renowned like [that of] the lord, the illustrious Śūdraka-svāmin[3] of divine descent; who (Sāhilla) by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles had acquired such names as Sāhasāṅka (Marked by rashness), Niśśaṅkamalla (the dauntless Wrestler) and Maṭamaṭatsiṁha (the roaring? Lion)—

(L. 11.) [King Soma-varman] who delights in passing his time in attaining faultless knowledge; whose mind is *perfumed* by the fragrance of every science; whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of spotless virtues; he, the only abode of discrimination; whose heart takes delight in the worship of the deities, the twice-born and the spiritual preceptors; who possesses enviable courage full of excessive manliness; who in their proper order maintains the status of the four castes; whose strong arm is dexterous in brandishing the fierce falchion intent on crushing the great pride of the irresistible foe; who (Soma-varman) by his

[1] Here as well as in line 17 I have translated according to the proposed emendation. If we read *Pauṣṇa* the rendering will be "the Solar race."

[2] I translate according to the proposed emendation *samarpita* instead of *samarthita*.

[3] Śūdraka is a legendary king who largely figures in old Indian folklore, and is the reputed author of the play Mṛcchakaṭikā ("The Little Clay Cart").

excessive majesty has uprooted and replanted the mighty and widespread royal power of several princes; who has completely fulfilled the wishes of all his favoured ones by profusely granting to them their desired objects; who, by the effulgence of his glory, bright like the multitudinous beams of the Hare-holder (the Moon), has illumined all regions; who takes an exquisite delight in every art and sport; he, the eastern Mountain where-from the orb of the sun (*alias* the circle of his friends) rises, [but] a Comet of calamity to the wicked; he who has illumined all the quarters of the universe by his fame acquired by extraordinary heroism; he, born in the house of Mūṣaṇa, who by his devotion to his parents has outvied the piety of Rāma; he, the supreme worshipper of the Great Lord (Śiva) and of Viṣṇu; he, who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Sālavāhana of divine descent and was born from the womb of the supreme princess, the queen, the illustrious and divine Rarḍhā even as the Moon was born from the Milk-ocean; he, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent, the prosperous one,

(L. 20) has granted one *bhū* in Kulika-goṣṭha, which belongs to the Trighaṭṭa-(ka) district of his domain and was occupied by Raṅgu(ka)'s son Raṇāditya and belonged to the latter's son Udma—in figures 1 *bhū* occupied by Raṅgu(ka)'s son—as far as its limits with grass, grazing, and pasture-ground, with fallow land large and small, with fruit-trees *and water, with* ingress and egress, together with gardens and resting-places, for as long as the moon and the sun [shall endure,] to the Brā[hmaṇ] of the house of Kāśyapa, the descendant of three prominent Sages (*ṛṣi*) and adherent of the school of the Vājasaneyas, the grandson of . . . , the son of Brahma, Bhaṭṭa Rahaśa—on the occasion of a solar eclipse, as an *agrahāra*. To be enjoyed henceforward for as long as the moon and the sun [shall endure] by son and son's son.

(L. 24.) In the increasing fortunate reign of victory, anno 7; [the month] Bhā-[drapada], the bright fortnight, the lunar day 3. The messenger on this occasion was the Prime-Minister, the illustrious Rāṇā Rīhila; the Great Record-keeper, the illustrious Rāṇā Kāhila . . . . . lhuthuka. Written by the writer of legal documents, the *kā*[*yastha*] De[vapa ?]

Own sign-manual of the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent. (*Original subscription.*) Own sign-manual of the illustrious Sālavāhana-varman of divine descent.

No. 25.—CHAMBĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMA-VARMAN AND ĀSAṬA.—(Plate XXV.)

This copper-plate belongs to the temples of Hari Rāi and Campāvatī, both in Chambā city, and is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. B, 5).

The inscription was first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham and was subsequently edited by the late Professor F. Kielhorn. I have re-edited it in my preliminary article on the inscriptions of Chambā.[1] Here again I desire to acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from the work of so eminent an

[1] *A. S. R.* Vol. XXI, pp. 135 f. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 7 ff. *A. R. A. S.* 1902-03, pp. 258 ff., with facsimile IV.

authority on Indian epigraphy. My transcript—it will be seen—differs but slightly from that of Professor Kielhorn, which was prepared from an imperfect rubbing. In my translation I have adopted the rendering of certain passages, as given by my predecessor in the course of his paper. The only point, on which I venture to differ in my conclusions from those of that distinguished scholar is the topography, in elucidating which I had the enormous advantage of an investigation *in loco*.

The plate measures 18″ in width and 12″ in height. It contains thirty-two lines, of which 1-28 are written horizontally over the whole breadth of the plate, and record the original grant by Soma-varman, whose signature is engraved vertically in the centre of the proper right margin. The addition by his successor Āsaṭa commences from the end of line 28 and is continued along the lower, proper left and upper margins, ending in the proper right margin near the first *akṣara* of Soma-varman's subscription. After his name that of Āsaṭa is engraved.

The upper proper left corner of the plate is broken, causing the loss of about five *akṣaras* at the end of line 30, and of about three *akṣaras* at the beginning of line 31. In the upper proper right corner also a small piece is missing. Here two *akṣaras* have become damaged, but are still legible. Otherwise the inscription is well preserved. Its execution leaves nothing to be desired. The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}$″ and $\frac{1}{4}$″.

The grant is composed in prose, except two imprecatory verses in the *Puṣpitāgrā* and *Mālinī* metres at the beginning, one in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre in the middle, and four *ślokas* (*Anuṣṭubh*) regarding the *dānadharma* at the end. The insertion of a verse in the middle and in continuation of the prose, though common enough in literature, is unusual in a title-deed. "From a grammatical point of view," Professor Kielhorn remarks, "I may draw attention to the employment of the instrumental case *Śukravāreṇa* in line 27 instead of the locative *Śukravāre*, and to the position of the numeral in *bhūmāṣaka-caturṇāṁ*, line 29, and in *deva-dvayoḥ*, line 30, which is not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions of the middle-ages. The Sanskrit of the genealogical part of the inscription, up to line 13, is unobjectionable."

As regards orthography, Professor Kielhorn draws attention to the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant in *Kulūtesvara* and *sākhinaḥ* (l. 5), *Sivi* (l. 8), *aseṣasāstrārtha* (l. 11) and *paramesvara* (l. 12); the employment of the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvāra* in *vaṅśe* (l. 24); and the fact that *ba* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *va*. I may add that we find *ri* for *ṛ* in *tritīyāyāṁ* (l. 27) and that the nasal is used instead of *anusvāra* in *svayambhūr*[1] (l. 1), *sandhukṣita* (l. 4), *sandhānasya* (l. 4) and *sanniyuktaka* (l. 14).

The inscription, as stated above, opens with two benedictory verses, the first of which occurs also in the grant of Soma-varman (No. 24, ll. 1-2), whilst the second will be found again in that of Āsaṭa (No. 26, ll. 1-2). In some respects the two readings differ in spelling. The first stanza recurs also in a very corrupt form in the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33, l. 1). The next eight lines (3-10) contain, with some slight modifications, the same eulogy of Sāhilla, the ancestor

[1] No. 24 has in the same verse *svayaṁbhūr*.

of the donor of the grant, as we have noticed in Soma-varman's title-deed (No. 24, ll. 2-11). This has enabled us to restore missing words or syllables and to correct mistakes in both the corresponding passages.

A point of special interest is that in the present grant mention is made of a victory gained by Sāhilla over the Turuṣkas. Professor Kielhorn conjectures that this refers to the repulse of one of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's invasions at the beginning of the 11th century. As, however, according to the *Vaṁśāvalī* Sāhilla is separated from Āsaṭa by five reigns, to which probably those of Sālavāhana and Soma-varman are to be added, he can hardly have been a contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. Unfortunately the term "Turuṣka" is not only used to denote the Turks, but, like "Śaka" and "Yavana," it designates any race of foreign invaders. Kalhaṇa calls even the Scythian Kaniṣka a Turuṣka. It is quite possible that the Turuṣkas defeated by Sāhilla were merely foreign mercenaries employed by one of the neighbouring hill-chiefs. Kalhaṇa[1] speaks of Turuṣka centurions (*Turuṣka-śatādhīśa*) in the service of king Harṣa of Kaśmīr, and of Turuṣka allies which the latter's grandson Bhikṣācara employed in an expedition against Sussala, who defeated them near Puñc (Parṇotsa) in the month of Vaiśākha A.D. 1121.

The praise bestowed on the donor himself is less elaborate than in the corresponding passage of Soma-varman's grant. The high-flown expressions used are partly identical. It will be seen that Soma-varman is the donor of the grant, but that the charter was issued after he had been succeeded by his brother Āsaṭa, in the first year of whose reign it is dated.

The following passage (ll. 13-15), in which the donor enumerates his officials and enjoins them to observe the grant, also occurs with certain modifications in the title-deed of Vidagdha (No. 15, ll. 6-11) and in that of Āsaṭa (No. 26, ll. 7-10). In the next 6 lines (16-21) the situation of the granted lands is described. In each case we find the names of the district (Skt. *maṇḍala*), of the village and of the previous landholder. In some cases a name is added which apparently indicates the land itself. In the grants of Yugākara (No. 14) and Vidagdha (No. 15) also the fields are designated by special names, according to a custom still prevalent in Chambā. The villages, which can nearly all be identified, are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital and belong to three different *maṇḍalas*, the position of which can approximately be fixed from that of the villages.[2]

Among the persons who enjoyed the lands at the time when the grant was made we find in the first place the Queen-mother, Rardhā. From the wording of the title-deed (*bhucyamāna* i.e. *bhujyamāna* is the present participle of the passive voice !) we may infer that she was still alive at the time of the donation and consequently had survived her husband, Sālavāhana. From the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī fountain inscription (No. 32) it is evident that the custom of *satī* prevailed among the noble families of Chambā, but was not universally practised. Queen Rardhā possessed a *jāgīr*, indicated by the name of Kuloṭī, out of which she granted four *bhū* of land, thus participating in the donation of her two sons. It will be seen in the sequel

[1] *Rājat.* VII 1149; transl. Stein, Vol. I. p. 357, and VIII 885, 886, 919 and 923; transl. Stein, Vol. II. pp. 70 and 73.

[2] On their position see above, pp. 11 f.

that she was the founder of one of the two temples to which the grant was made. This accounts for her liberality. The position of Kuloṭī is uncertain. A charter of Rājā Saṁgrām-varman, dated Śāstra 22 (A.D. 1446) contains the name of a village called Kuloḍi, but without any particulars regarding its situation. In a copper-plate grant of Rājā Balabhadra, dated Śāstra 68, Vikrama 1649 (A.D. 1592) mention is made of Kuloṭ *ḍhaga*, i.e. "precipice" near the village of Lakhalī in the Sāhō *parganā*.

The next landholder mentioned in our inscription is the cook (*sūpakāra*) Surambhaṭa. We may safely assume that he was the cook of the royal household. Among the numerous grants of Rājā Balabhadra is one dated Vikrama 1697, Śāstra 16 (A.D. 1640/1) which records the donation of the village of Ktahmāro[1] in the Sāhō *parganā* to the cook (*sūpakārin*) Viṣṇu-śarman. I may add that up to the present day the Rājā's cook is a Brāhman.

The land granted in the village of Vāṭā was in the possession, not of an individual, but of the members of a committee (*goṣṭhika*[2] from *goṣṭha*). The term *chonneraka*, by which these *goṣṭhikas* are indicated, I cannot explain. Possibly it denotes some locality. The next landholder, Vijjaula, is called Bhadrāvakāśīya, *i.e.* a native of Bhadrāvakāśa, the modern Bhadarvāh. This hill-tract belongs at present to the Jammū-Kaśmīr State. Among the remaining five landholders two bear the designation *aṣṭaprahārika*. This word is not found in Sanskrit literature, but there can be little doubt that it denotes eight watchmen attached to the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ, the chief sanctuary of Chambā. The word *prahārika* is evidently derived from Skr. *prahara* (Hindī *pahr*) meaning "a watch of three hours." The expression *dopahr* for "noon" (literally "two watches," *i.e.* six hours after 6 A.M.) is well known. The word *aṣṭaprahārika* is not formed according to the rules of Sanskrit etymology. The correct *vṛddhi* form from *prahara* would be *prāharika*. This is also borne out by the fact that its modern derivative is *pāharī*, a word used in Chambā to denote a watchman, either of a temple or some other building. It is synonymous with the Urdū word *caukīdār* (Anglo-indice *chowkidar*). At present one *pūjārī* and four *pāharīs* are attached to the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ. In a charter of Balabhadra dated Vikrama 1664 Śāstra 83 (A.D. 1607) mention is made of these watchmen as *Śrī-Nārāyaṇe de pāhari* (l. 11). Professor Kielhorn has drawn attention to the fact that here as well as in the concluding portion of the inscription the landholders are sometimes not called by their own proper names, but described as the sons of their respective fathers. The same peculiarity may be noticed in Yugākara's grant (No. 14).

The total area of land granted is stated to be 15 *bhū*. It is clear that *bhū* is a superficial measure divided into four *bhūmāṣakas*. In the grants of Vidagdha (No. 15), Soma-varman (No. 24) and Āsaṭa (No. 26) also we find the area of the land expressed in *bhū* or *bhūmi*. In that of Yugākara, on the other hand, the extent of the granted land is expressed in a measure of capacity—the *piṭaka* (modern *piṛā*)—according to the usage of the Hills. We may compare with *bhū* the English word "acre" which originally must have meant "a field," as appears from German

[1] At present the village belongs to the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ.
[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 106.

Acker and Latin *ager*. As to the exact value of a *bhū*, I may note that the land, granted in Āsaṭa's charter, which is stated to be 1 *bhū* 6 *māṣaka*, in other words $2\frac{1}{2}$ *bhū*, has an area of 14 *lāhrī* or 42 acres, from which it would follow that 1 *bhū* corresponds with nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ *lāhrīs* or nearly 17 acres.

In addition to the 15 *bhū* of land detailed, the donor granted annually one *khāri* of grain from the store-house (*koṣṭhāgāra*) of Bhadravarma, the modern Bhadram. This store-house was, no doubt, the building in which the revenue in kind was collected and would, therefore, correspond to the State Kōṭhī found at the head-quarters of each *pargaṇā*, and used not only as a residence for the State officials, but until recent years also for the storage of the grain paid as revenue. The custom of paying revenue in kind has been abolished since A.D. 1863, but the large wooden grain vessels called *kañjāl*[1] may still be seen in many of the Kōṭhīs.

Lines 21-24 contain particulars regarding the donees of Soma-varman's grant. It is to be regretted that, in the midst of his business-like statements, the author of the title-deed was suddenly seized with poetical inspiration, which circumstance has considerably impaired the lucidity of this passage. This much is clear that the total grant is divided into two very unequal portions. One portion consisting of only half a *bhū* is given to a Viṣṇu temple founded by order of the illustrious Pāsaṭa. Professor Kielhorn proposed to read *Śrī-Āsaṭa*, but to this emendation there seem to me to be serious objections, though at first I felt inclined to adopt it. First of all it will be seen that the *akṣara pā*, which was doubtful in Professor Kielhorn's rubbings, is quite distinct in the original. Supposing that the engraver had really substituted *pā* for *ā*, it can hardly be believed that such a mistake in a personal name would not have been corrected at the same time as other corrections were made. By reading *Śrī-Āsaṭa*, we should moreover have to assume that the author of the inscription had made a serious mistake in *saṁdhi* by allowing the *hiatus* to stand. Finally we notice that Śrī-Pāsaṭa is called *mahārājaputra*, so that he can hardly be identical with Āsaṭa, who was the ruling Rājā at the time when the charter was issued. We shall, therefore, have to admit the existence of a Pāsaṭa, but it is impossible to say in what relationship he stood to the donor. The Viṣṇu temple founded by him seems to have disappeared. Judging from the smallness of the grant, it cannot have been a very important shrine.

The remaining $14\frac{1}{2}$ *bhū* of land, together with the annual *khāri* of grain, were bestowed on two other temples, one of the Lord Hari (*i.e.* Viṣṇu) founded by Lakṣmana-varman and the other dedicated to Śiva by Queen Rarḍhā, apparently for the benefit of Sālākara-varman. The first-mentioned shrine is undoubtedly the temple of Hari Rāi near the Caugān Gate, which still enjoys part of the grant. Regarding its founder, Laksmaṇa-varman, nothing is known, but we may assume that he was a member of the ruling house. In any case, it is very probable that the Hari Rāi temple was built shortly before the grant was made. The tradition that it dates back to a period anterior to the foundation of Chambā by Sāhilla will, therefore, have to be rejected. Professor Kielhorn is, no doubt, right in identifying Sālākara-varman with Sālavāhana-varman, the father of the donor. The fact that Rarḍhā

[1] Smaller vessels for storing grain are called *tūṇ*. They contain up to 20 *piṛā* of grain. On the *kōṭhī* cf. above p. 136.

built a Śiva temple in his memory is conclusive proof that she did not become *satī* after his death.[1] The temple in question is no longer extant. At least, none of the three chief Śiva temples of Chambā town—namely, Candargupt, Gaurī-Śaṅkar and Trimukh—has any tradition regarding Sālavāhana and his queen Rarḍhā. In view of the above, Professor Kielhorn's conjecture, that the two gods were worshipped in the same temple and that this temple was probably that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ cannot be upheld. It is curious that at the present time Hari Rāi shares the grant with Campāvatī the eponymous goddess of Chambā. In what manner a part of the donation has become transferred to this temple, it is impossible to decide.

Lines 24-27 contain four *ślokas* of the usual type, in which the sanctity of the donation is emphasized and its confiscation denounced as the blackest of crimes. In line 27 the date is given as the first year of the reign of Āsaṭa, the month of Vaiśākha, the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight, Friday.

The Great-Recordkeeper (*mahākṣapaṭalika*) Kāhuka, mentioned as "messenger" of the charter, is perhaps identical with the Rājānaka Kāhila, whose name occurs with the same designation and in the same connection at the end of Soma-varman's plate (No. 24, l. 25). In the same manner we find the names, Paituka and Paitala, used to denote the same person in the Sārbān well inscription[2] in the Delhi Museum (Cat. No. B, 6). The *kāyasthas*, Śivapa and Manna, by whom the charter was written are mentioned again in line 32. They were also the writers of Āsaṭa's grant (No. 26, l. 21).

After the formula *iti śubham* which marks the end of the original document we find a few lines added in the 11th year, evidently of Āsaṭa's reign, the month of Bhādrapada, the 12th day of the bright fortnight. The name of the day of the week is lost except the initial *s*. This addition is written in a less careful manner than the original grant and contains several mistakes, which to a certain extent obscure its meaning. It records a change in the original donation as regards the *bhū* of land in the village of Maṅgala (modern Manglā) in the Pārakamaṭa *maṇḍala*. It also records an additional grant of one *bhū* of land to a temple (it is not clear which), apparently for the special purpose of rewarding the services of the eight watchmen (*aṣṭaprahārika*) above mentioned. In the right hand margin we find the signatures of both the original donor Soma-varman and of the ruling chief Rājā Āsaṭa.

TEXT.

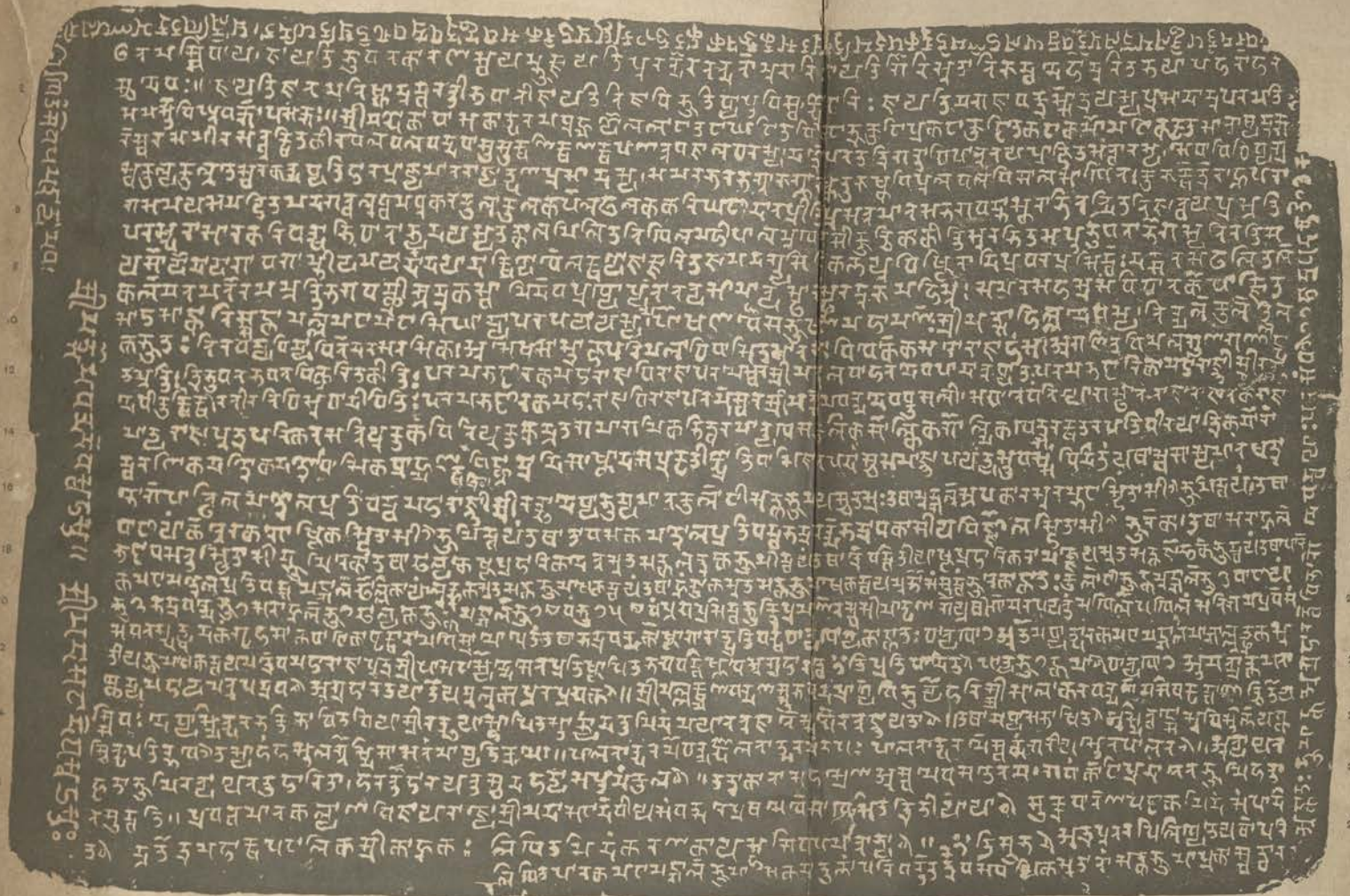
ओं नमश्शिवाय । जयति भुवन-कारण(णं) स्वयंभूर्जयति पुरन्दर-नन्दनो मुरारिः [।*] जयति गिरिसुता-निरुद्ध-देहो दुरित-भयापहरो हर-(l. 2) श्च देवः॥ जयति जनमनिष्टादुद्धरन्ती भवानी जयति निज-विभूति-व्याप्त-विश्वX पुरारिः [।*] जयति च गजवक्त्रस्सो च यस्य प्रसादादु-परमति[3] (l. 3) समस्तो विघ्न-वर्गोपसर्गः॥ श्री-चण्पका-वासकात्परम-ब्रह्मख्यो ललाट-तट-घटित-विकट-भ्रुकुटि[4]-प्रकट-कुटित-कटक-सौमटिक-कृत-सानाथ्य-दुर्ग-(l. 4) रेश्वर-समीर-सम्मुचित-

[1] A parellel instance is the temple of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa built in 1825 by Rāṇī Sārdā, the widow of Rājā Jīt Singh, who died in 1808. Cf. above p. 1, n. 3.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 95.

[3] No. 26, l. 2, has *upaśamati*.

[4] I read first *bhūkuṭi* with Prof. Kielhorn. The *akṣara bhrū*, however, occurs in No. 13, l. 9, in a different form.



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कीर-बल-बलवद्दवाशुशुक्षणि-क्षण-क्षपण-न्न(न)व-जलधरस्य। दण्डोपनत-त्रिगर्ताधिपानुनय-प्रार्थित-सन्धानस्य। सेवा-विधि-व्यग्र- (l. 5) स्वकुल्य-कुलूतेस्व(श्व)र-कर्म-व्यतिहार-प्रार्थ्यमान-राज्यात्य(र्घ)-ण-प्रसादस्य। समर-भर-भग्नारुणारुष्क-तुरुष्क-विपुल-बल-विशाल-सा(शा)खिन: कुरुक्षेत्रे राहूपरा- (l. 6) ग-समय-समर्थि(र्पि)त-मद-गन्ध-लुब्ध मधुकर-कुलाकुल-कपोल-फलक-करि-घटा-दान[1]-प्रीति-प्रसन्न-मानस-भगवद्भास्कराभिनन्दित-निजान्वय-प्रसूति-(l. 7)परम्परा-सार-कविवर्षा-भिधानाभ्युदयस्य तत्काल-मिलित-निखिल-महीपाल-मुख-मशी(षी)-कूर्चिका-कीर्ति-सुरभित-सप्त-भुवनाभोगस्य निरतिश- (l. 8)य-शौर्यौदार्यागाध-गाम्भीर्य-मर्यादा-दया-दाक्षिण्य-वैलक्षण्य-जर्जरित-जामदग्न्य[2]-सि(ग्नि)वि-कर्ण-युधिष्ठिरादि-प्रवर-प्रसिद्धे: दर्शन-सफलित-ल्लो-(l. 9) क-लोचन-मनोरम-मूर्ति (र्तेर्)भगवच्छ्री-शूद्रक-स्वामि-देव-प्रख्याप्यमा[3]नानन्य-सामान्य-स्फार-स्फुरदुरु-महिम्न:समर-सहस्र-संविधान-कोपार्जित- (l. 10) साहसाङ्क-निश्शङ्कमल्ल-मटमटसिंघा(हा)द्यापर-पर्यायस्य । पौ(मौ)षण-वै(वं)श्य[3]-भूषण-महामणे: श्रीमत्साहिल्ल-देवस्य। निर्मले कुले तिल-(l. 11) क-भूत: निरवद्य-विद्याविनोद-रस-रसिक: अशे(शे)ष-सा(शा)स्त्रार्थ-परिमलाधिवासित-मानस: विवेकैक-सरो-राजहंस: अगणित-विमल-गुण-गणालङ्क[4]-(l. 12) त-मूर्ति: त्रिभुवन-भवन-विकु(च्छु)रित-कीर्ति: परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेस्व(श्व)र-श्रीमत्सालवाहन-देव-पादानुध्यात: परमभट्टारिका-महाराज्ञो-श्री-रर्द्धा- (l. 13) देवी-कुक्षि-क्षीरनीरनिधि-सुधादीधिति: परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमत्सोमवर्म-देव× कुशली। सर्वानेव नियोगस्थान् राज-राजानक-राज(जा)- (l. 14) मात्य-राजा(ज) पुत्र-परिकर-सन्नियुक्तक-विनियुक्तक-दूत-गमागमिक(का)-भित्तरमान्य(ण)- खश-कुलिक-श्रौल्किक-गौल्मिक-खड्गरक्ष-तरपति-वोरयात्रिक-चौरो-(l. 15) ड्डरणिक-दण्डिक-दण्डवासिक[5]-ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रिय[6]-विट्कू(शू)द्रादिशा(सा)ष्टादश-प्रकृतीX प्रतिवासि-जनपदांश्च समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा स्वशास्यमान-ष(क्ष)त्रा-(l. 16) भोगे[7] पान्थिल-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-महाराज्ञी-श्री-रर्द्धा-देव्या भुच्य(ज्य)-मान[8]-कुलोटी-सत्क-भूमयश्चतस्र: तथा सुङ्गले सूपकार-सुरभट-स्थिता(तमा)मोत् भूमि-द्वयं। तथा (l. 17) वाटायां क्षौत्रेरक-गोष्ठिक-स्थिता(तमा)सोत् भूमि-द्वयं तथा तावसक-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-भद्रवर्मे भद्रावकाश्रीय-विज्जौल-स्थितासोत् भूरेका। तथा सराहुले (l. 18) भट्टवसन्त-स्थितासोद्भूभिरेका तथा ढाल्यके ष्टप्रहारिक-देव्र-सुत-सत्क-लर्तुके भूमीद्वयं तथाचैव स्थितोयाष्टप्रहारिक-रामज्जय[9]-सुत-सत्क-जौढके भू-द्वयं तथा पारे(र)-(l. 19) कमट[10]-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-मङ्गले ढौल्लिकायां लुर्हु(त्थु)क-सुत[11]-सत्क-भूमाषक-द्वयं तथाहुं[र्ता]क-सुत-सत्क-भूमाषक-द्वयमुभौ(भे)संगुह्य भूरेकाङ्कत: कुलोटी-भू ४ सुङ्गले भू २ वाटायां (l. 20) भू २ भद्रवर्मे भू १ सराहुले भू १ ढाल्यके भू ४ मङ्गले भू १ एवं भू १५ एवं पूर्व-प्रसिद्ध-भुक्ति-प्रमाणेन स्व-सोमा-क्षण-गोयूथी (म्यूति)-गोचर-पर्यन्तं स-खिलोपखिलं[12] स-निर्गम-प्रवेशं (l. 21) स-वनस्पत्युदकं गृह-शाकवाटिका-क्षेत्राराम-विश्रामोपेतं तथा

[1] Prof. Kielhorn reads *dāra*.
[2] The *akṣara ma* is written below the line.
[3] Perhaps *veṁśa*.
[4] The *akṣara la* is written above the line.
[5] Prof. Kielhorn reads [*dā*]*ṇḍika-daṇḍa*[*p*] *āsi*(*śi*)*ka*.
[6] The word *kṣatriya* is written below the line.
[7] Prof. Kielhorn proposes to read *cchatrābhoge* and compares the expression *chatrabhaṅga* "interregnum" *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 214, l. 7.
[8] Prof. Kielhorn remarks that *-devī-bhujyamāna-* would be more correct.
[9] Prof. Kielhorn reads *Rāmajjeya*. Cf. however the *akṣara ñca* in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscription No. 32 ll. 13 and 15.
[10] In ll. 21 and 29 the name is written *Pārakamaṭa*.
[11] Prof. Kielhorn reads: *Ḍhaullekāyāṁ Lutthukasuta-*. In l. 21 the name is undoubtedly *Lutthuka*.
[12] Prof. Kielhorn reads *sakhila*[*ṁ*] *pakhilaṁ*. Cf. however inscr. No. 24, l. 21. In No. 15, l. 17, we have instead *sakhilapolācyā*.

भद्रवर्म-कोष्ठागारात्प्रतिवर्षं धान्य-खार्येकाङ्कतः धान्य-खा १ अतो मध्यात्पारकमट-मङ्गल-मार्गाल्लु-त्थुक-सु-(l. 22) तीय-भूमाषक-द्वयमत्रैव महाराज-पुत्र-श्री-पासटस्योद्देशेन[1] प्रतिष्ठापित-भगवद्विष्णवे अग्रहारत्वे इति प्रतिपादितं पान्य(अन्य)-भू १४ मा २ धान्य-खा १ आचन्द्रार्कमना-(l. 23) च्छेद्यमहार्यमनुपद्रवम् अग्रहारतया तोय-चुलुकापूर-पूर्वकं ॥ श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणवर्मणश्शुभवद-प्राख्ये (ख्यो) विभुर्यो हरिश्श्री-सालाकरवर्मणे च शिव-कृद्वाणार्चितो य-(l. 24) श्शिवः [।*] देव्यास्मिन्पर-भक्ति-भावि-तधिया श्री-रर्ढया स्थापितस्ताभ्यां दत्तमिदं मया ननु जनैस्सर्वैरनुज्ञायताम् ॥ तथा च व्यास-भाषितम् [॥*] अस्मिन्वङ्शे(न्वंशे) सुविस्तीर्णे य× क- (l. 25) श्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् [।*] तस्याहं हस्त-लग्नो स्मि शासनं मा व्यतिक्रमेः[2] ॥ पालनात्परमो धर्म× पालनात्परमं तपः [।*] पालनात्परमैश्वर्यं गरीयस्तेन पालनम् ॥ अन्यायेन (l. 26) हृता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता। हरन्तो(तो) हारयन्त-(त)श्च दहत्यासप्तमं कुलम् ॥ तडाकाना(गानां) सहस्रेण अ(चा)श्वमेध-शतेन च। गवां कोटि-प्रदानेन भूमि-हर्ता (l. 27) न शुद्ध(द्ध्य)ति ॥ प्रवर्धमान-कल्याण-विजय-राज्ये श्रीमदासटदेवीये संवत्सरे प्रथमे वैशाख-सित-त्रि(तृ)तीयायां[3] शुक्रवारेण पट्टकमिदं संपादि- (l. 28) तम् [॥*] दूतो त्र महाक्षपटलिक-श्री-काहुकः लिखितमिदं करणकायस्थ-शिवप-मन्नाभ्याम्[4] ॥ इति शुभम् [।*] अत्र पुनरपि लिख्यते [।*] यथोपरि- (l. 29) लिखित-पारकमट-मङ्गले भूमाषक-दा-(च)तुर्णां परिवर्ते तत्रैव सवयिक-सुतानां[5] सत्क-भूमाप(ष)काश्चत्वारः (l. 30) अङ्कतः भू-मा ४ अग्रहारत्वे विभागे देवद्वयोः पन(पुनः?) संवत्[6] ११ भाद्रपद-शु-ति १२ स — — — — — (l. 31) — — — वरे दत्तं पान्थिल-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-घलहणे महेन्द्रक-पो(पौ)त्र-मत्तिक[7]-सुत-सत्क-भूरेकाङ्कतो भू १ अष्टप्रह(हा)रिक-सव(सेवा)र्थे त्रे(त्रै) व द्रे(दे)वगृहे प्रतिप(पा)दिता। प्राङ्ले (ग्लि) खित-क्रम(मे)ण पालन[यम् ॥] (l. 32) [लि]खितं शिवप-मन्नाभ्यामेव[8] ।(॥)

श्रीमत्सोमवर्म-देव-स्वहस्त [:*] ॥ श्रीमदासट-देव-स्वहस्तः [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to Śiva. Victorious is the Cause of the world, the Self-existent (Brahmā). Victorious is the son of the Destroyer of castles (Kṛṣṇa), the Enemy of Mura. Victorious is he, whose body is held by the Mountain-daughter (Durgā), he who removes distress and danger—Hara the god. Victorious is she who saves mankind from misfortune—Bhavānī (Durgā). Victorious is he who with his splendour has pervaded the universe, the Foe of the castles (Śiva). Victorious also is the Elephant-faced one—he by whose favour the whole calamity of a host of obstacles ceases (Gaṇeśa).

(L. 3.) From his residence at the glorious Caṇpakā, the highly devout [king Soma-varman] who is an ornament of the spotless house of the illustrious Sāhilla, of divine descent—that great jewel adorning the race of Mūṣaṇa[9]—who (Sāhilla)

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[1] See above p. 191.

[2] Read *vyatikramet.*

[3] Prof. Kielhorn reads [*dvi*]*tīyāyāṁ*. The first *akṣara*, however, is undoubtedly *tri* in which *ri* stands for *ṛ* as in *triṇa* (No. 24, l. 21).

[4] Prof. Kielhorn divides this compound: *Śiva-Pamannābhyām*. Cf. however, *Manna-Devapātmaja-Śivapābhyām* in No. 26, l. 21.

[5] *Savarmikasutānāṁ* in Prof. Kielhorn's transcript.

[6] Another alternative is to read *para-saṁvat* as Prof. Kielhorn conjectures.

[7] Prof. Kielhorn has *-Mantrika*.

[8] See note 4.

[9] See p. 186, note 1.

was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kīra forces, fanned, as by the wind, by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saumaṭikas, whose camp was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown produced on the slope of his (Sāhilla's) forehead; whose (Sāhilla's) alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force; who (Sāhilla) was asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return of services by his kinsman, the Lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage; who (Sāhilla) by the weight of battle had broken, like a wide-spreading tree, the large force of the Turuṣkas, on whom wounds had been inflicted; who (Sāhilla) had the fortunate name of Karivarṣa (Elephant-rain), on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity joyfully granted by the Lord Bhāskara (the Sun-god), whose mind was contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants, whose flat cheeks were covered by a swarm of bees attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed[1] in Kurukṣetra at the time of an eclipse; who (Sāhilla) has made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant by his fame [painted] with the ink-brushes, which were the mouths of all the princes assembled (at Kurukṣetra) on that occasion (the solar eclipse); who (Sāhilla), by his unequalled kindness and compassion combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, and unfathomable profoundness, has impaired the fame of Jamadagni's son (Paraśurāma), Śibi, Karṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira and such-like heroes; by looking upon whose (Sāhilla's) lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful; whose (Sāhilla's) widespread greatness brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence was renowned like [that of] the lord, the illustrious Śūdraka-svāmin[2] of divine descent; who (Sāhilla) by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles had acquired such names as Sāhasāṅka (Marked by rashness), Niśśaṅka-malla (the dauntless Wrestler) and Maṭamaṭa-siṁha (the roaring ? Lion).

(L. 11.) [King Soma-varman] who delights in passing his time in attaining faultless knowledge; whose mind is perfumed by the fragrance of every science; the royal swan of the only lake of discrimination; whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of spotless virtues; whose fame is strewn over the dwellings of the three worlds; he who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Sālavāhana of divine descent and was born from the womb of the supreme princess, the queen, the illustrious Rarḍhā of divine descent, even as the Moon was born from the Milk-ocean; he, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent, the prosperous one,

(L. 13.) enjoins on all the officials, every *rājā*, *rāṇā*, royal minister, *rājpūt*, those appointed and commissioned of [the Rājā's] attendants (?), every *dūta*, *gamāgamika*, *abhitvaramāṇa*, Khaśa, Kulika, superintendent of customs (?), superintendent of forests (?), sword-guard (?), *tarapati*, those belonging to the expeditionary force (?), every "thief-catcher," "rod-bearer," "rod-and-rope-bearer," *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya*, *śūdra*, and all others, that constitute the eighteen elements of the State and the neighbouring country people:

[1] I translate according to the proposed emendation *-samarpita-* instead of *samarthita-*.
[2] See above, p. 186, n. 3.

(L. 15.) Be it known unto you, that within the domain under our sway in the Pānthila district there are four *bhūmi* of land belonging to Kuloṭī, enjoyed by the queen, the illustrious Rarḍhā of divine descent, and at Muṅgala two *bhūmi* belonging to the cook Surambhaṭa, and at Vāṭā there are two *bhūmi* belonging to the *Chonneraka-goṣṭhika*, and in the Tāvasaka district at Bhadravarma there was one *bhū* held by Vijjaula of Bhadravāh, and at Sarāhula there was one *bhū* held by Bhaṭṭa Vasanta, and at Ḍhālyaka two *bhūmi* in Lartuka which belong to the watchman the son of Denna, and in the same village two *bhū* in Jauḍhaka, belonging to the second watchman, the son of Rāmañjaya, and in the Pārakamaṭa district at Maṅgala in Ḍhaullikā two *bhūmāṣaka* belonging to the son of Lutthuka and two *bhūmāṣaka* belonging to the son of Hurhartāka, both together making one *bhū*. In figures: of Kuloṭī 4 *bhū*, at Muṅgala 2 *bhū*, at Vāṭā 2 *bhū*, at Bhadravarma 1 *bhū*, at Sarāhula 1 *bhū*, at Ḍhālyaka 4 *bhū*, at Maṅgala 1 *bhū*, thus 15 *bhū*, thus on the previously established terms of occupancy, as far as their limits, grass, grazing and pasture-ground, with fallow land large and small, with ingress and egress, with fruit-trees and water, together with houses, kitchen-gardens, orchards, and resting-places; also from the storehouse of Bhadravarma annually one *khārī* of grain, in figure 1 *khā.* of grain. Out of these [lands] the two *bhūmāṣaka* of the son of Lutthuka on the road to Maṅgala in Pārakamaṭa are bestowed as an *agrahāra* on the Lord Viṣṇu, founded here by order of the illustrious Pāsaṭa the son of the *Mahārājā*. The remaining 14 *bhū* 2 *mā.* and 1 *khā.* of grain are granted by me for as long as moon and sun shall endure, uncurtailable, inalienable, unopposed, as an *agrahāra* by a formal libation of water,

(L. 23.) to the Lord Hari (Viṣṇu) who is renowned by the auspicious name of the illustrious Lakṣmaṇa-varman, and to Śiva who, praised with music, has blessed the illustrious Sālākara-varman and has been established by the illustrious queen Rarḍhā, whose mind possessed highest devotion to him. Let then all people approve it.

(L. 24.) And this has been spoken by Vyāsa: "Whosoever of this wide-spread race may be king, I enjoin on him not to transgress [this] order. By [its] observance the highest religious merit, by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit, by [its] observance the highest sovereignty [will be attained]; [its] observance is therefore very important. The land which is unlawfully confiscated or unlawfully caused to be confiscated consumes up to the seventh generation of him who confiscates it and of him who causes it to be confiscated. He who takes away the land is not cleansed by [the digging of] a thousand tanks, by a hundred horse-oblations and by a gift of ten million cows."

(L. 27). In the increasing, fortunate reign of victory, in the first year of the illustrious Āsaṭa of divine descent, on the third day of the bright fortnight of [the month of] Vaiśākha, on Friday has this plate been presented. The messenger on this occasion was the Great-Recordkeeper, the illustrious Kāhuka. This was written by the writers of legal documents, Śivapa and Manna. May it be blessed!

(L. 28.) Here again is written that, in exchange for the four *bhūmāṣaka* of Maṅgala in Pārakamaṭa, four, in figures 4, *bhūmāṣaka*, belonging to the sons of Savayika, are given as an *agrahāra* in apportionment (?) to the two gods. In the

year 11, [the month of] Bhādrapada, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 12 . . . . One, in figures 1, *bhū* belonging to the son of Mattika, the grandson of Mahendraka, in Ghalahaṇa, situated in the Pānthila district, is granted for the service of the watchmen in the same temple. To be observed in the previously described manner.

(L. 32.) Written by the same Śivapa and Manna. Own sign-manual of the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent. Own sign-manual of the illustrious Āsaṭa of divine descent.

No. 26.—ṬHUNḌHU COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ĀSAṬA.

(PLATE XXVI).

This grant of Rājā Āsaṭa came to my notice in the summer of 1902 and was preliminarily edited by me with the other four Chambā copper-plate inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period.[1] It belongs to a Brāhmaṇ of the name of Jasu who lives in the village of Ṭhunḍhu at the head of the Hol valley in the Hol-Gudhyāḷ *parganā*. It is doubtful whether the lands now held by the owner of the plate are those described in the charter. On a visit to the spot I could not identify any of the localities mentioned in connection with the donation. Those lands are no longer regarded as a *sāsan*, as the owner has to pay the ordinary revenue. It is a curious circumstance that Jasu claims to belong to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, whereas the original donee was a Brāhmaṇ of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, so that it may rightly be doubted whether he is a descendant of the latter. The plate is now preserved in the Chambā State Museum (Cat. No. B, 6).

The copper-plate on which Āsaṭa's grant is engraved measures $9\frac{1}{2}''$ in height and $13\frac{1}{2}''$ in width, including a short handle to the proper right. It is pierced with a round hole which is probably meant to hang the plate on the wall. It may be noticed here that none of the copper-plates found in Chambā are provided with a seal. The inscription consists of 21 lines, besides the signature of the donor written in the proper right margin. The average size of the letters is from $\frac{3}{16}''$ to $\frac{1}{4}''$.

The inscription is engraved with great care and the lettering is distinct throughout. Yet the number of blunders is very considerable. They consist mostly of the substitution of *akṣaras* closely resembling the intended ones. Such mistakes are: *vyāpna* (l. 1) for *vyāpta*, *śuru* (l. 3) for *guru*, *gapāgamika* (l. 8) for *gamāgamika*, *bhitvaraśāna* (l. 9) for *bhitvaramāna*, *śaulmika* (l. 9), for *śaulkika*, *sapājñāpayati* (l. 10) for *samājñāpayati*, *yadhā* (l. 10) for *yathā*, *tabhā* (l. 12) for *ubhā*, *śocara* (l. 13) for *gocara*, *vanapsaty-* (ll. 13-14) for *vanaspaty-*, *pālanāt=maramo* (l. 19) for *pālanāt=paramo*, *u* (l. 19) for *ca*, *gagayas* (l. 20) for *garīyas*, *ato* (l. 21) for *dūto*. *Visarga* (or final *s*) and *anusvāra* have been omitted in *va saviditam* (l. 10); *anusvāra* in *vanapsaty-udaka* (ll. 13-14). The top-stroke has been left out in *sarver=uparilikhitair* (l. 16) and the *ā* stroke in *-Śivapābhyam* (l. 21). We may perhaps assume that the engraver had to execute the plate from an indistinct copy which would account for so great a number of blunders. When comparing this grant with the previous one (No. 25), we notice that in the present

[1] *A. R. A. S.* for 1902-03, pp. 264 ff; with facsimile V.

case the writing is much more cursive. This is especially noticeable in the shape o *ja*. The short *i* stroke used in this inscription deserves special notice.

Mistakes of a different kind are those resulting from an imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the author of the inscription. They are on the whole similar in nature to those noticed in the other four grants of the pre-Muhammadan period. *Saṁdhi* rules are generally treated with great levity. Thus we find *vivardhita akalaṅkaḥ* (l. 6), *sarvānneve* (l. 7), *caurodharaṇika* (l. 9), *vṛkṣa-ārāma* (l. 14) and *agrahāratve iti* (l. 16). Interchange of sibilants is found in *kuṣalī* (l. 7) for *kuśalī*, *sāṣyamāna* (l. 11) for *śāsyamāna*, *Vyāśa* (l. 19) for *Vyāsa*. In *jala-śuluka* (l. 15) *śu* has been substituted for *cu*. We find *ri* instead of *ṛ* in *triṇa* (l. 13) and *ṇ* instead of *n* in *Dhaṇañjaya* (l. 15). In *khaṇḍarakṣa* (l. 9) and *vīrajātrika* (l. 9) we notice the influence of the vernacular words *khaṇḍā* (from Skr. *khaḍga*) and *jātrā* (from Skr. *yātrā*).

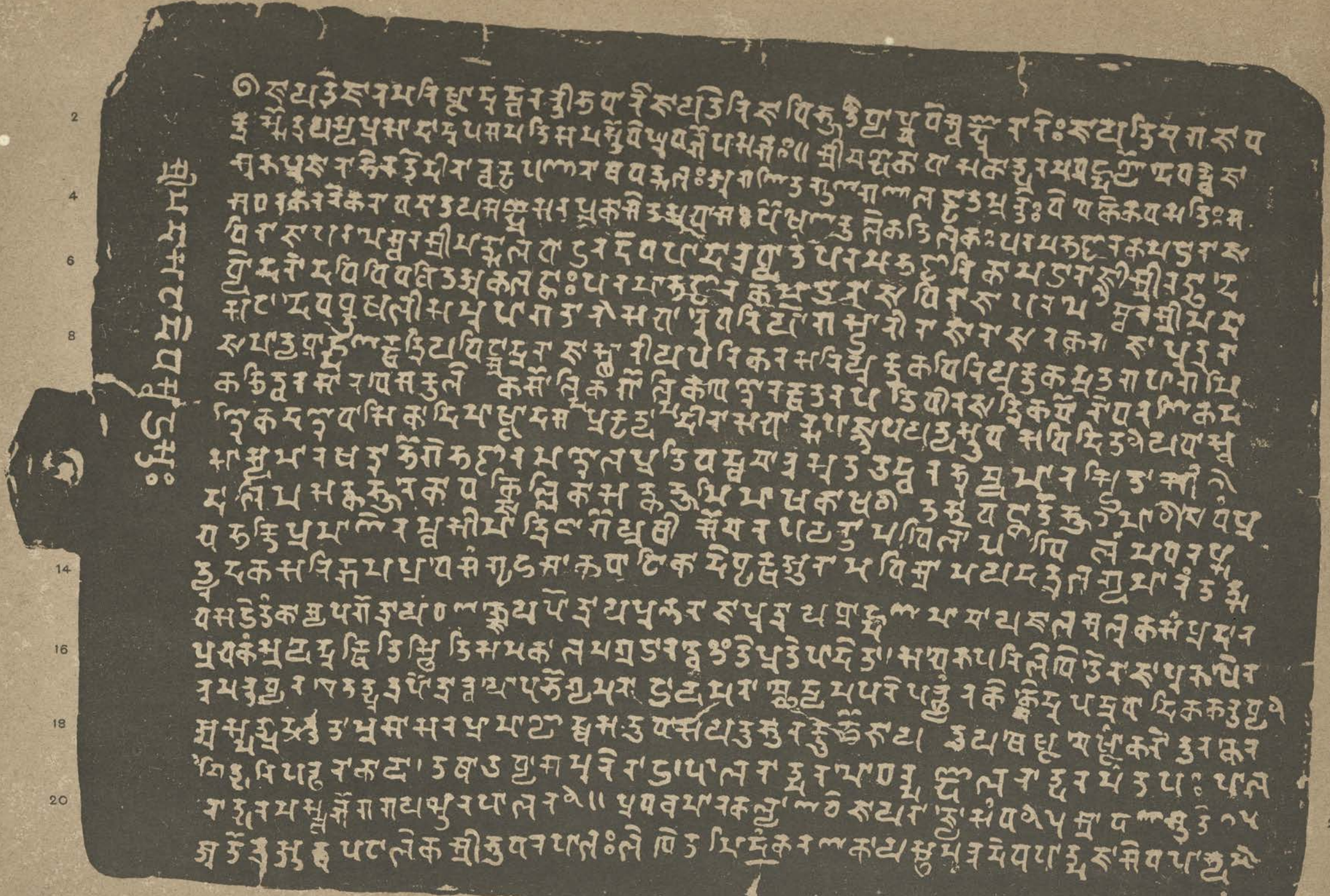
The charter opens with a stanza in the *Mālinī* metre, the same as is found at the beginning of the previous grant (No. 25, ll. 2-3). We notice that *upaśamati* has been substituted for *uparamati*. The eulogy of the donor (ll. 2-6) is partly identical with the corresponding passage in Soma-varman's grant (No. 24, ll. 11-18), but less extensive. The following portion (ll. 7-10) in which the officials are enumerated who will have to observe the Rājā's grant, agrees closely with the list of officials found in the charters of Vidagdha (No. 15, ll. 6-11) and in that of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25, ll. 13-15).

The Bhaṭṭāra *maṇḍala* in which the granted lands are said to be situated, corresponds perhaps with the Hol-Gudhyāl *pargaṇā*. The other localities, called Dālima and Vañjillikā (l. 12), I have not been able to identify. They are probably fields; it will be noticed that no village is mentioned. As usual in these charters, the lands are indicated by the names of the last holders. The name of the donee, Māca the son of Pūrṇarāja and grandson of Dhanañjaya is found in line 15. In lines 19-20 one *śloka* is quoted from Vyāsa in corroboration of the grant. The date is the 5th year of the reign of Āsaṭa. The messenger is the Recordkeeper Bhuvana-pāla, and the writers are the *kāyasthas* Manna and Śivapa (here called the son of Devapa)—the same whose names we have twice met with in the grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25, ll. 28 and 32).

TEXT.

श्रीं जयति जनमनिष्टादुद्धरन्ती भवानी जयति निज-विभूति- व्याप्त(प्त)[1]-विश्व ×पुरारि :[।*] जयति च गजव-(l. 2) क्त्रस्त्रो त्र यस्य प्रसादादुपशमति समस्तो विघ्न-वर्गोपसर्गः॥ श्री-चाषका-वास-क्रात्परम-ब्रह्मण्यो देव-द्विज-(l. 3) शु(गु)रु-पूजनाभिरतो दीनान्ध-कृपणानाथ-वत्सलः अगणित-गुण-गणालङ्कृत-मूर्तिः विवेकैक-वसति श्र-(l. 4) शधर-कर-निकरावदात-यश ×-प्रसर-प्रकाशित-सर्वाशः पौ(स्त्रौ)षण-कुलैक-तिलकः परमभट्टारक-महाराजा-(l. 5) धिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमत्सालवाहन-देव-पादानुध्यात-परमभट्टारिका-महाराज्ञी-श्री-रर्ढा-दे-(l. 6) व्यो (व्यु) दरोदधि-विवर्धित अकलङ्कः परम-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमदा-(l. 7) सट-देव × कुष(श)ली समुपागतान् सर्वान्ने(ने)व

[1] Apparently *pna* or *pva* was written first, and corrected into *pta*.



SCALE 0·75

PLATE XXVI.

नियोगस्थान् राज-राजानक-राजपुत्र-रा-(l. 8)जामात्य-ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रिय-विट्-शूद्र-राजस्थानीय-परिकर-सनियुक्तक[1]-विनियुक्तक-दूत-गपा(मा)गमि-(l. 9) क(का)भित्वरशान(माण)-खश-कुलिक-शौल्मि-(ल्कि)क-गौल्मिक-खण्डरक्ष[2]-तरपति-वीरजा(या)चिक-चौरोध(द्ध)रणिक-द-(l. 10) ण्डिक-दण्डवासिकादिमाष्टादश-प्रकृत्यादीना(न्) सर्वान्सपा(मा)ज्ञापयत्यस्तु व[:*] स(सं)विदितम् यथा(था)स्व-(l. 11)सा(शा)स्यमान-ष(क्ष)त्राभोगे भट्टार-मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध-चात्र-सुत-उदर-भुक्ष(ज्य)मान-स्थितासीत् (l. 12) दालिम-सत्क-भूरेका वज्झिल्लिका[3]-सत्क-भूमि-माषका[:*] षट् त(उ)भावङ्गतो भू १ मा ६ एवं पू-(l. 13) वंभुक्ति-प्रमाणेन स्व-सीमा-त्रि(तृ)ण-गोयूथो (गव्यूति)-शो(गो)चर-पर्यन्ता (न्तं) स-खिलोपखिलं स-वनप्स(स्प)-(l. 14) त्युदक (कं) स-निर्गम-प्रवेशं गृह-शाकवाटिकादिवृक्ष-आराम-विश्राम यदत्र लग्यमानं तत्स-(l. 15) वं-सहितं काश्यप-गोत्राय धण(न)ञ्जय-पौत्राय पूर्णराज-पुत्राय ब्राह्मण-माचाय जल-शु(चु)लुक-संप्रदान- (l. 16) पूर्वकं सूर्येन्दु-क्षिति-स्थिति-समकालमग्रहारत्वे इति प्रतिपादिता(तं)। सर्वे(र्वै)रुपरि-लिखितै राजपुरुषैर-(l. 17) नुमन्तव्यम् एतत्पुत्र-पौत्रान्वयोपभोग्यमनाहार्यमनाच्छेद्यमपरिपन्थं न किञ्चिदुपद्रवादिक(कं) कर्तव्यम्(l. 18) अस्मत्प्रदत्त-ताम्र-शासन-प्रामाण्याद्वसतु वासयतु भुनक्तु भोजयतु यथेष्ट-चेष्टं करोतु न केन (l. 19) चित्परिपन्थना कार्या। तथा उ(च) व्याश (स)- मुनिराह। पालनात्म(त्प)रमो धर्मः पालनात्परमं तपः पाल-(l. 20) नात्परमस्वर्गो गग(री)यस्तेन पालनम्॥ प्रवर्धमान-कल्याण-विजय-राज्ये संवत् ५ श्रावण-शु-ति १५ (l. 21) अ(दू)तो त्र आत्तपटलिक-श्री-भुवनपालः लिखितमिदं करण- कायस्थ-मन्न-देवपात्मज-शिवपाभ्यम् (भ्याम्) [॥*]

श्रीमदासट-देव-स्वहस्तः [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is she who saves mankind from misfortune—Bhavānī (Durgā). Victorious is he who with his splendour has pervaded the universe, the Foe of the castles (Śiva). Victorious also is the Elephant-faced one—he by whose favour the whole calamity of a host of obstacles ceases (Gaṇeśa).

(L. 2.) From his residence at the glorious Caṇpakā, the highly devout [king Āsaṭa] who takes delight in the worship of the deities, the twice-born (the Brāhmaṇs) and the spiritual preceptors; the friend of the distressed, the blind, the needy and the unprotected; whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of virtues; the only abode of discrimination; who, by the effulgence of his glory, bright like the multitudinous beams of the Hare-holder (the Moon) has illumined all regions; the only ornament of the race of Mūṣaṇa;[4] who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Sālavāhana, of divine descent, and was reared by that other Ocean—the womb of the supreme princess, the queen, the illustrious Rarḍhā of divine descent, but was without spot.[5]

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[1] No. 25, l. 14 has *sanniyuktaka*.

[2] No. 25, l. 14, has *khaḍgarakṣa* which is probably the correct reading. In No. 15, l. 8, we also find *khaṇḍarakṣa*.

[3] The original has *Vakjillikā*, but I presume that the *k* in the second *akṣara* has been substituted for *ñ* to which it bears a great resemblance. Cf. *Dhaṇañjaya* (l. 15).

[4] I translate according to the proposed emendation. If we read "*Pauṣṇa*," the rendering will be: "the only ornament of the Solar race."

[5] Here, as in the other grants, the donor is likened to the Moon born from the Milk-ocean, but in the present instance it is added that, unlike the Moon, he was spotless. *Cf.* above, No. 13, verse 5.

(L. 6.) He, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Āsaṭa, of divine descent, the prosperous one, enjoins on all the officials concerned—every *rājā, rāṇā, rājpūt,* royal minister, *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya, śūdra,* chief-justice, those appointed and commissioned of [the Rājā's] attendants(?), every *dūta, gamāgamika, abhitvaramāṇa,* Khaśa, Kulika, superintendent of customs (?), superintendent of forests (?), sword-guard (?), *tarapati,* those belonging to the expeditionary force(?), every "thief-catcher," "rod-bearer," "rod-and-rope-bearer," and all others that constitute the eighteen elements of the State.

(L. 10.) Be it known unto you that within the domain under our sway, in the Bhaṭṭāra district there is one *bhū* of land belonging to Dālima which has been enjoyed by Uddhara, the son of Caṇṇa, and six *bhūmi-māṣaka* of Vañjilikā, together in figures 1 *bhū* 6 *mā.* [This land], on the terms of its previous occupancy, as far as its limits, grass, grazing and pasture-ground, with fallow-land large and small, with fruit-trees and water, with ingress and egress, with houses, kitchen-gardens and so on, trees, gardens and resting-places together with all that is attached to it, has been granted as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhman Māca, the son of Pūrṇarāja, the grandson of Dhanañjaya of the house of Kāśyapa, after a formal libation of a handful of water, for as long a time as the sun, the moon and the earth shall endure. This grant is to be observed by all the above-named royal officers, to be enjoyed by the succession of his sons and sons' sons, inalienable, uncurtailable, unobstructed. Let no hindrance whatever be caused [to him]. Let him, on the authority of the copper-charter, issued by us, live and make [others] to live, enjoy and make [others] to enjoy. Let him act as he pleases. Let no one offer obstruction.

(L. 19.) For thus has Vyāsa, the Sage, spoken: "By the observance [of this grant] the highest religious merit, by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit, by [its] observance the highest heaven [will be attained]; [its] observance, therefore, is very important.

(L. 20.) In the increasing, fortunate reign of victory; in the year 5 [the month of] Śrāvaṇa, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 15. The messenger on this occasion was the Recordkeeper, the illustrious Bhuvana-pāla. This was written by the writers of legal documents Manna and Śivapa, the son of Devapa.

Own sign-manual of the illustrious Āsaṭa of divine descent.

No. 27.—SĪYĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF ĀSAṬA—(PLATES XXIII AND XXVII)

The carved fountain-slab on which this inscription occurs came to light in the summer of 1908. It was found at a locality known by the name of Sīyā and situated on the ridge above Lōh-Ṭikrī beyond Bharāṛā and at a distance of some 8 miles from the Kōṭhī. Sīyā consists of a few houses which are only inhabited in summer by cowherds, who graze their cattle on the rich pastures of the Sīyā Dhār. The place is believed to have been the seat of a Rāṇā,[1] but this is not borne out by the inscription. At the time of its discovery, the stone was almost entirely buried. It measures 3′ in height, and 6′ in width, and is beautifully preserved.

[1] *Cf.* above p. 113.

The centre of the carved surface is occupied by the squatting figure of Varuṇa, the god of the waters, to whom the stone was dedicated. He holds a cobra (?) in his right, and a full-blown lotus-flower in his left hand. Beneath him we notice the well-known decorative device of a pair of birds with interlaced necks. For the rest, the upper portion of the slab is carved with four horizontal bands of scroll-work, and the lower portion with panels containing eight-petalled lotus-rosettes and other ornaments. The spout opening is also enclosed within a border of ornamental carving and the whole is surrounded by a double serpent border.

The inscription is cut on two elongated panels, measuring 2′ in width and $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in height, which are placed beneath the lowermost horizontal band of scrollwork. Each of the panels contains three lines of writing. The letters are in the average from $\frac{3}{4}''$ to 1″ high. The lettering is clearly engraved and well preserved, so that there can be little doubt about the reading except in the case of a few *akṣaras* which present an uncommon appearance. The *akṣaras ca*, *dha*, and *va* (*ba*) are very similar to each other.

It should be noted that the tailed form of the cerebral *ṇ* appears here for the first time. We notice also the looped *r* and the *ru* with its vowel mark attached to the top-stroke. Medial *e* is expressed ten times by the *pṛṣṭhamātrā* and seven times by the superscribed sign. Medial *o* in *lokeśu* (read *lokeṣu* l. 5) is hardly distinguishable from medial *e*. The language of the inscription, except in the first two lines, is hopelessly incorrect, so that it is sometimes difficult to guess the sense concealed in these barbarous forms. A comparison with other fountain-inscriptions has enabled us to establish the meaning in most cases.

The inscription records that a fountain slab was erected by Raṇasīha and Dhaṇasīha, the sons of Māca,[1] the son of the Bhaṭṭ Rudra for the sake of the future bliss of their brother Canika. This name occurs also in the Lōh-Ṭikrī inscription (No. 29), and possibly indicates in both cases the same person. The two stones were found at a few miles distance from each other and the founders of both belong to the caste of the Bhaṭṭs. The date also would agree, as the Lōh-Ṭikri stone was erected for the sake of the son of Canika, in the reign of Jāsaṭa who succeeded Āsaṭa in A.D. 1005-6. But the names of the relatives differ. It seems more plausible to identify Dhaṇasīha with an individual of the same name mentioned on the Sīyā-Dudhār fountain stone, which was discovered not far from that of Sīyā. He belonged also to a Bhaṭṭ family and is called the grandson of Ludrauka which may quite well be another form for the name Rudra. The names Ludrau, (of which Ludrauka is the sanskritised form), and Ludru are still used in Chambā. Evidently they are connected with Sanskrit Rudra. In the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33) the name Ludra-pāla is found which undoubtedly stands for Rudra-pāla.

The second half of the epigraph contains a stanza, which occurs in other fountain inscriptions in the same corrupt form, followed by a half-verse which appears to be a quotation from a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī.

The most important part of the inscription is the date—the first year of the reign of Āsaṭa, Māgha *śu ti* 13, Monday, the lunar mansion Ārdrā. I have pointed out in the introductory part of the present work (p. 73) that only in two cases within

[1] The personal name Māca occurs also as that of the grantee in Āsaṭa's copper-plate grant (No. 26, l. 15).

the period from 1060 to 1088 does Māgha *śu ti* 13 fall on a Monday and in conjunction with the *nakṣatra* mentioned in the inscription. The corresponding Christian date could, therefore, be either the 13th January 1074 or the 10th January 1077. Unfortunately the data provided by the copper-plate grant, No. 25, which is likewise dated in the first year of Āsaṭa's reign, do not tally with the assumption that either A.D. 1073-4 or 1076-7 could be the year of his accession. It seems that in one of the two inscriptions the date is wrongly noted. The years to which the data of the copper-plate grant can be applied are A.D. 1071-2 and A.D. 1080-1 so that in any case it is highly probable that the year of Āsaṭa's accession lies between 1070 and 1080.

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज- परमेश्वर: श्री-आसट-देव-राज्ये सम्वत् (l. 2) १ माघ शु ति १३ चन्द्रदिने आर्द्र-नक्षत्रे स्थापितमिति भट्टरुद्रात्मज-माच-(l. 3) पुत्र-रणसीह-धण-सीह[1] द्वावेता भ्राचि-चनिकस्य सर्ग-मार्गे उत्पाटनार्थे सं-(l. 4)सार-भय-भीतेन त्वनेवं[2] वरुण-देव स्थापितम् न वरुणात्परं देवं न (l. 5) च वरुणात्परं तपं न च वरुणत्परं तीर्थं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् इ-(l. 6) ति सत्यं महागौरी यन्येस् सं तत्रमाप्नुयात् इति श्रेयं भवतु सर्वेषं

CORRECTED READING.

ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमदासट-देव-राज्ये सम्वत् (l. 2) १ माघ-शु ति १३ चन्द्रदिन आर्द्रा-नक्षत्रे स्थापित इति भट्ट-रुद्रात्मज-माच- (l. 3) पुत्र-रणसीह-धण-सीहाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामेताभ्यां भ्रातृ-चनिकस्य स्वर्ग-मार्गोत्पाटनार्थे सं-(l. 4) सार-भय-भीताभ्यां वरुण-देव: स्थापित: ॥ न वरुणात्परो देवो न (l. 5) वरुणात्परं तप: । न वरुणात्परं तीर्थं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुत: ॥ इति सत्यं महा-गौरि योन्यास् सो न्तमवाप्नुयात् ॥ इति श्रेयो भवतु सर्वेषाम् ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Āsaṭa of divine descent, in the year 1, [the month of] Māgha, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 13, on Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Ārdrā has this fountain-stone (lit. *Varuṇa*) been erected by Raṇasīha and Dhaṇasīha, the two sons of Māca, the son of Bhaṭṭa Rudra, fearing with the fear of existence, in order to open the way to heaven for their brother Canika.

No higher god than Varuṇa, no higher gain of penitence, no higher shrine than Varuṇa is heard of in the Universe. Therefore, in truth, Oh great Gaurī, he finds the end of human birth.

Thus may it be a blessing to all!

No. 28.—LUJ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF JĀSAṬA; ŚĀSTRA [41]81 (A.D. 1105-6).

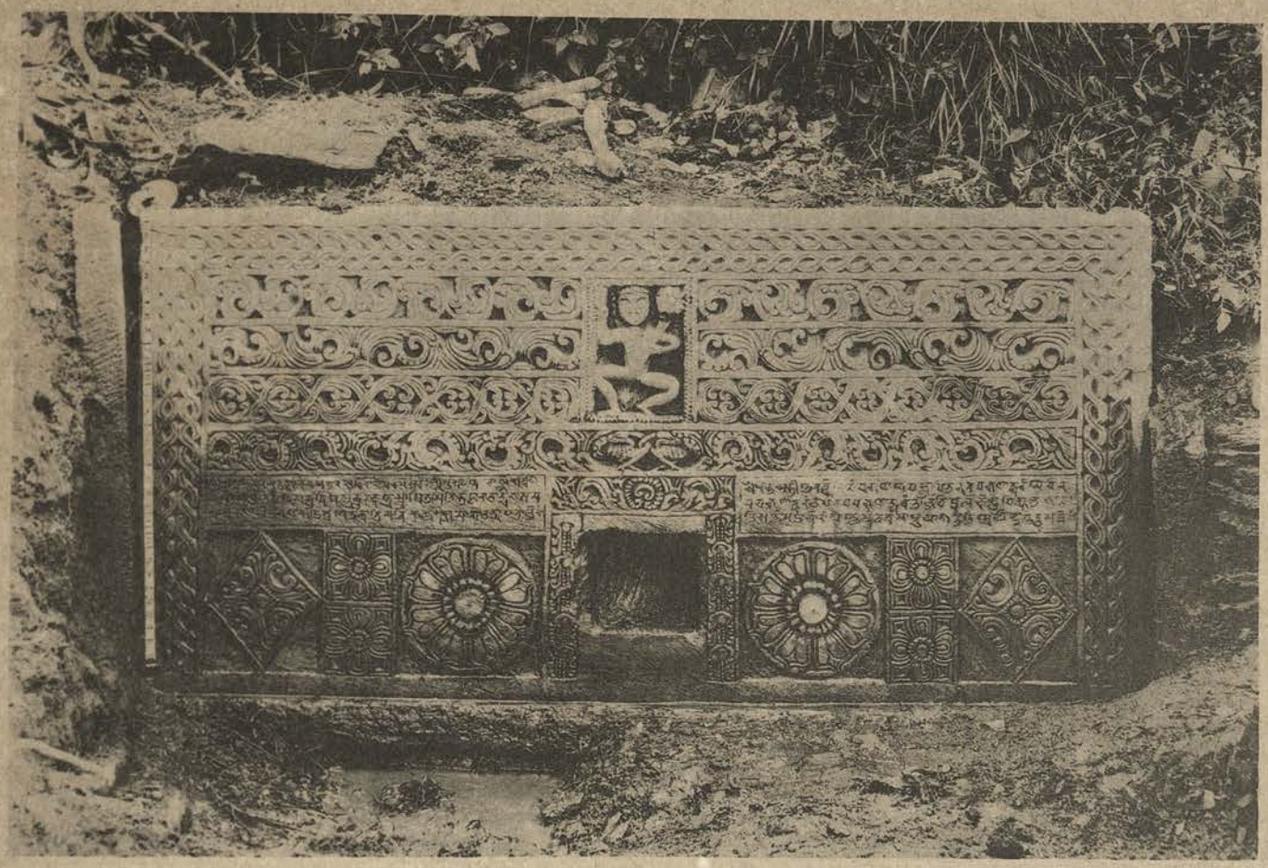
(PLATES XXVII AND XXVIII.)

The hamlet of Luj is situated in Pāṅgī, 1½ miles north of west from Dharvās (map Darvas) and at a short distance from the Pāḍar border. Below the village

[1] The first *akṣara* might be read *ca*, *ba* or *va*.

[2] The syllables *tvenevaṁ* perhaps stand for *tenaiva* "even therefore" or for *tvanenaiva* "even by him." In the latter case, we should have the singular instead of the dual.

Sīyā Fountain Stone.



HEIGHT 3'

Luj Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 4'

is a place known as Ḍhaḍya which is little frequented owing to the popular belief that it is haunted by the winter witch (*Sīt kī Buḍhī* lit. "the old Woman of cold"). Here stands a quaintly carved fountain-stone measuring 4′ in height and 6′ in width. In its centre there is an inscribed tablet, $5\frac{1}{2}$″ high and 15″ wide, surmounted by a lotus-rosette. On each side is a sunk panel containing the clumsy figure of a squatting deity. The one to the proper right is Gaṇeśa the god of prosperity, apparently four-armed and holding an axe and a conch-shell in his right hands and a thunderbolt (?) and a wheel in his left. These attributes, it will be seen, are far from orthodox.[1] The other deity is most probably Varuṇa, the god of the waters. He wears a moustache and a sect-mark (or a frontal eye ?), is two-armed and holds a mace or trident in his right and a rosary in his left hand. On both sides are coiling snakes which seem to issue from his diadem. The representation bears a close resemblance to the central figure of the Naghai fountain-stone.

Over each of these figures there runs a horizontal border, whilst the lotus in the middle is surmounted by a pair of birds, perhaps meant for peacocks. In the lower portion of the slab, separated from the upper part by a horizontal rope border, we have in the centre a vase (*kalaśa*) and immediately beneath it a square opening to receive a water-spout. On both sides there is a curiously degenerated pilaster, the shafts having been replaced by scroll-work. On the capital of the one to the proper left there is a second inscription of three short lines almost entirely obliterated.[2] At the sides of these pseudo-pilasters there is a lotus-rosette somewhat smaller in size than the central one and different in design. Both ends of the slab are occupied by a vertical row of panels which contain various figures representing birds, a horseman, a squatting figure, a pair of interlaced snakes and a nondescript quadruped.

Originally there was in front of the large slab a square cistern, formed by three smaller slabs which are still extant, but displaced. The front one is carved like one of the Naghai stones with three eight-petalled rosettes enclosed between five pilasters. It measures 1′ 7″ in height and 6′ in width.

The inscription, incised on the central panel, consists of five lines of about 14″ in length and a short line 3″ long written beneath the end of the fifth line. The *akṣaras* measure from $\frac{1}{2}$″ to $\frac{3}{4}$″ in height and are deeply and clearly cut in the stone, but owing to long exposure their outlines have become somewhat worn away. The language is a mixture of very corrupt Sanskrit and vernacular terms which are for the most part difficult to explain. It would seem that the stone was erected by an individual called Nāgarā, the son of Bhāṭalau and Bhaṭagirī. It does not appear from the inscription to what caste he belonged, but there is a local tradition that the fountain was constructed by an ancestor of the present *likhnihārā* (revenue officer) of Dharvās, who is a Brāhmaṇ by caste. The name, Nāgar, is still of common occurrence in Curāh. Bhāṭalau may be compared with the name, Baṭulo, borne by the wet-nurse of Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh. The name, Bhaṭagirī, does not seem to be now in use ; it is possible that the first member of the word is the caste-name *Bhaṭṭ*.

[1] Cf. above, pp. 138 f.

[2] The third line seems to read *gahaṇa*. In the facsimile Plate XXVIII *b* the lines are numbered 7-9.

The main point of interest of the inscription is its date which enables us to determine the year of accession of Rājā Jāsaṭa (the inscription has Jāsaṭha) and thus yields the earliest fixed date in Chambā history.

The composition of the Luj inscription is extremely clumsy and points to its having been done by a person of very slight literary ability. We find the word *thāpita* (Skr. *sthāpita*) repeated three times and the word *samutpanya* twice. As to the meaning of the latter word, I presume that it is a corruption of Skr. *samutpanna* and that this past participle is used instead of the causative *samutpādita*. For the ending *ya* we may compare *thāpyā* (from Skr. *sthāpita*) in the Harsar image inscription (No. 49) which ends: *Eh Mahādēv Aḍśare thāpyā*. "This [image of] Mahādēv has been erected at Harsar." The sentence *idaṁ bhogya nānā bhokaṇa samutpanya* (ll. 3-4) is difficult to explain. The word *bhogya* is possibly a past participle of the root *bhuj*. If we take *bhogya* in the ordinary sense which it has in Sanskrit, it would mean "to be used, useful" which could be referred to the fountain. Instead of *bhokaṇa* we may perhaps read *bhojaṇa* (Skr. *bhojana*) which could also be applied to the benefit derived from the fountain. If so, I should propose to translate it: "This is to be used (or useful) and various (*nānā*) enjoyment has been produced [by it]." But it is also possible that this sentence refers to the custom of providing a feast to the villagers on the occasion of the erection of a fountain slab. Local tradition asserts that such a custom did exist. This would also explain the word *mahāprajā*, used twice in the inscription, as referring to the inhabitants of the village at large, who took part in the construction of the fountain and in the feast of consecration. At the end of the inscription we find, moreover, that grain (*? dhānikam;* Skr. *dhānya ?*) was provided (*samutpanya*), presumably for the same purpose. The word *joda* preceding *dhānikaṁ* I cannot explain. The following expression *mul dra 20* (or *30*), I suppose, indicates the quantity of grain supplied by the donor on the occasion of his consecration feast. The syllable *dra* I take to be an abbreviation of *dramma* which in the Baijnāth *praśasti* (II, 30)[1] occurs as the name of a piece of money or monetary value.

राजानकेन चास्मै लक्ष्मणचन्द्रेण वैद्यनाथाय ।
मण्डपिकोत्पत्तिधानाद[त्ताष् ष] ट् प्रत्यहं द्रम्मा ॥

"And daily six *drammas* of the money collected in the custom-house have been allotted by Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa-candra to this Vaidyanātha."

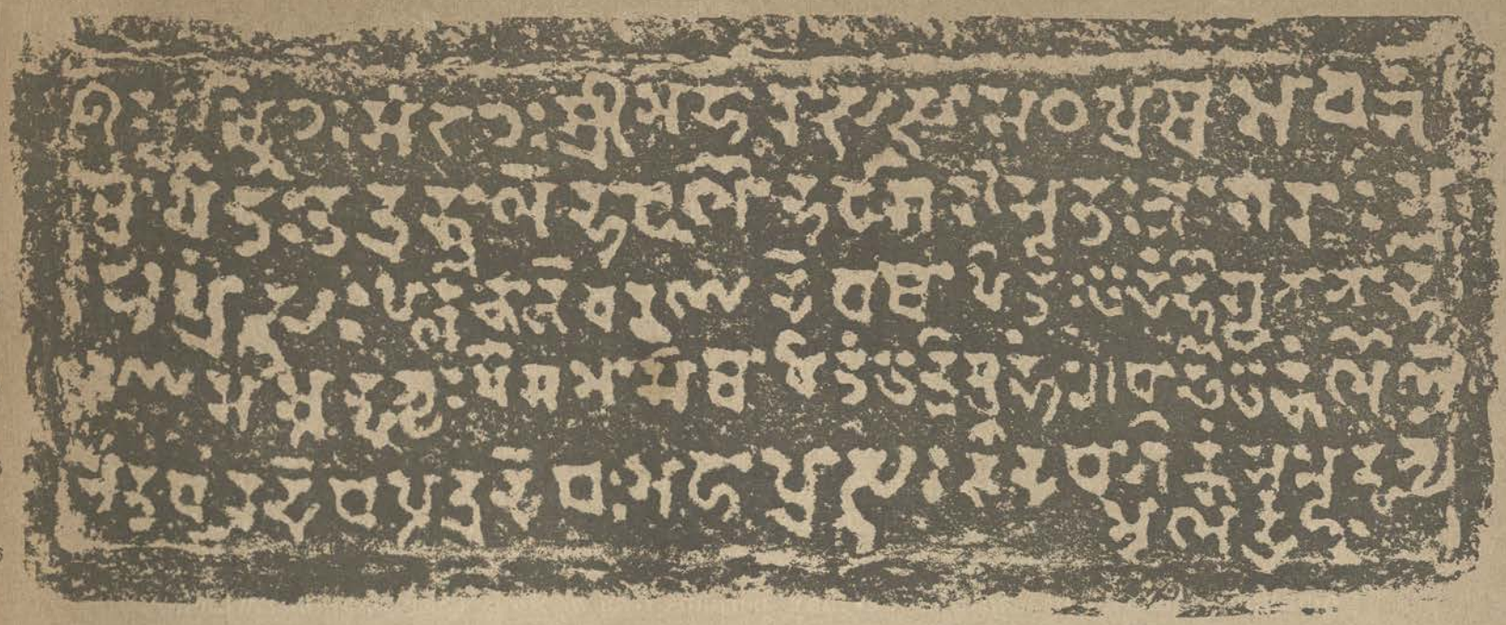
The word *dramma* is derived from Greek Δραχμή; it must originally have denoted the silver coins of the Indo-Bactrians.

It deserves notice that we find *śa* (perhaps pronounced as *sa*) substituted for *ṣa* in *varśa* (l. 1)[2] and in *Pośa* (l. 4; Skr. *Pauṣa*). The *visarga* is used throughout as a sign of punctuation. In my transcript I have replaced it by the single stroke, for which it stands. Once (l. 4) we find it combined with the double stroke. Medial *i* is indicated by a short curve over the *akṣara*, and medial *u* by a hook slanting downwards, except in *śu* (l. 4) where the curve is used. Medial *e* is expressed by a horizontal stroke and medial *o* by a flourish, both placed over the consonant.

[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 114 and 117. Cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 37.
[2] Cf. beneath No. 35, l. 1, *varśāṇāṁ*.

Luj Fountain Inscription.

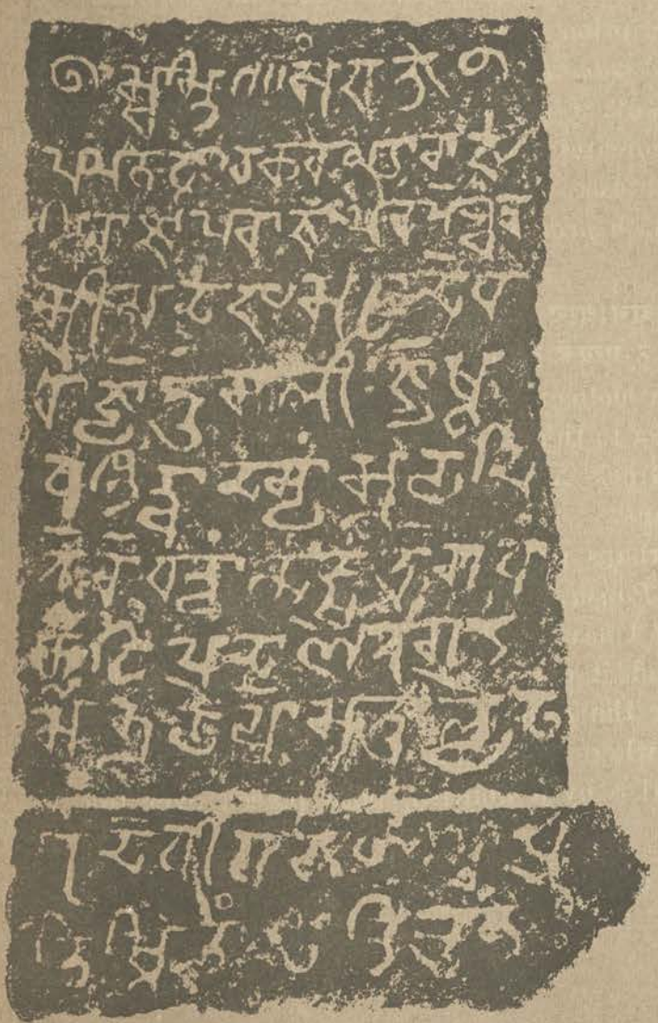
a.



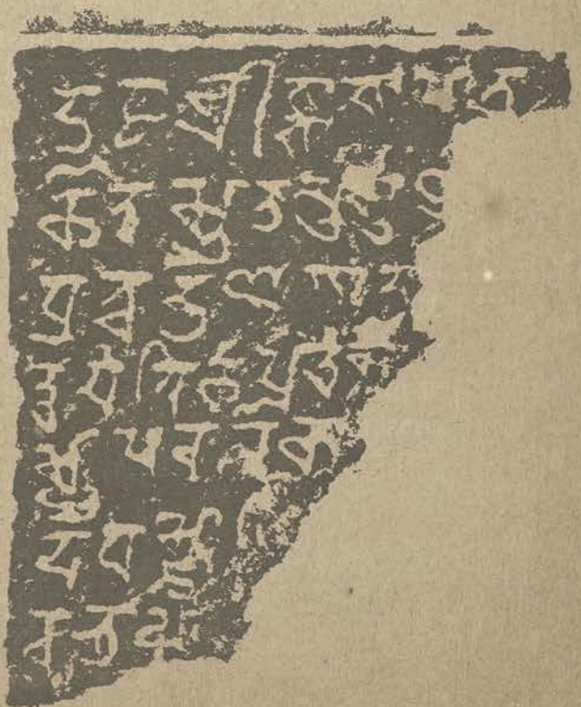
Lōh-Ṭikrī Fountain Inscription.

b.

a.



b.



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TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति: । सं ८१ । श्री-महाराजा-जासट-प्रथम-वर्ष (l. 2) थापित । तत्र काले भाटलौ-भटगिरो-सुत । नागरा । म-(l. 3)ह्राप्रजा । परलोकार्थे[1] वरुण-देव थापितं । इदं भोग्य नाना भो-(l. 4)कण समुत्पन्य । पोश-मासे थापितं इति शुभं ॥ बाढोई कंलोणे (l. 5) सतधर देव-पुत्र-देव । महाप्रजा । जोद धानिकं समुत्पन्य(l. 6)मुल द्र २० (or ३०)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Erected in the year 81, in the first year of the illustrious Mahārājā Jāsaṭa. At that time Nāgarā, the son of Bhāṭalau and Bhaṭagirī [and the] people [of the village?] [have] erected a fountain-stone (*lit.* god Varuṇa) for the sake of the next world. This is to be used (*or* useful?); various enjoyments (*or* foods?) have been provided (?) Erected in the month of Pośa (Skr. Pauṣa). Thus [may it be] blessed! The carpenter (?)[2] Kaṁloṇe, the stone mason[3] Deva, the son of Deva, [and the] people [of the village?] Grain (?) has been supplied (?). Price 20 (*or* 30) *drammas*.

No. 29.—LŌH-ṬIKRĪ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE 9TH YEAR OF JĀSAṬA (A.D. 1114).—(PLATES XXVIII AND XXXVII *b*).

Lōh-Ṭikrī[4] is the head-quarters of a *pargaṇā* of the same name, in which the ancient *parganās* of Baghai and Cāñju have been included, and which thus comprises the whole of the right bank of the Cāñju Nālā. At a short distance below the *kōṭhī* a fountain-slab was found in the summer of 1905, which has since been brought to Chambā Town and deposited in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 8). The lower portion, the proper left end, and the upper right corner of the stone are broken off; the remaining portion measures 2′ 8½″ in width and 1′ 8½″ in height.

The inscription is distributed over two panels separated by a lotus-rosette which must have occupied the centre of the stone, when entire. Both the lotus and the inscribed panels are enclosed within three ornamental borders, the innermost a bead border, the middle one a leaf border and the outer one a double rope border. Of the two panels that to the proper right, containing the first half of the inscription, is entire. It measures 10″ in height by 5½″ in width, and contains eleven lines of writing. Of the proper left panel only a portion is preserved, 7″ high and 5½″ wide, containing seven lines of which only the first one is complete. The letters, though rather shallow and irregular in shape, are legible throughout; their average size is ½″. The language is Sanskrit of the corrupt type generally found in fountain-inscriptions.

The right hand panel contains the date and a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The second part of the inscription, incised on the proper left side, mentions the name of the founder who belonged to the Brahmanical caste of the Bhaṭṭs which has still its representatives in Chambā.

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[1] This stands of course for परलोकार्थे.

[2] बाढोई may be a local form for बढ़ाइ.

[3] सतधर I suppose to stand for सूत्रधार the term commonly used to denote the artisan employed in carving the stone. Cf. beneath No. 30, l. 2, No. 33, l. 3, and No. 35, l. 4. Cf. also p. 207.

[4] The word "Lōh" which is added to distinguish this Ṭikrī from a place of the same name in Bhaṭṭi (commonly called Bhaṭṭi-Ṭikrī) is said to refer to the existence of iron ore in that *pargaṇā*.

The inscription is dated in the 9th year and in the reign of Jāsaṭa (spelled Jāsaṭṭa). The question arises whether the year mentioned is a regnal one or refers to the Śāstra era. In the latter case it could correspond only to A.D. 1133. To this assumption there are two objections. Kalhana mentions Udaya-varman as Rājā of Chambā on the occasion of the siege of Śrīnagar in A.D. 1122. In the second place, Jyeṣṭha *bati* 12 of Śāstra 9 (A.D. 1133) fell on a Wednesday (May 3), whereas the day of the week of our inscription is Sunday. If, on the other hand, we assume the year to be a regnal one, both the day of the week and the *nakṣatra* will be found to agree. The Luj fountain-inscription (No. 28) has yielded Śāstra 81, *i.e.*, A.D. 1105 as the first year of Jāsaṭa's reign, his 9th year must, therefore, have been A.D. 1114, and Jyeṣṭha *bati* 12 would correspond to the 3rd May of that year. This date fell on a Sunday and the moon stood in the lunar mansion Revatī.

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ संवत् ९ (l. 2) प[र*]म भटा (ट्टा)रक-महाराजा-(l. 3)धिराज[1]- परमेश्वर- (l. 4) श्रीमद (ज्)-जासट (ट)-देव-(l. 5)राज्ये कुशलो[2] ज्येष्ठ-(l. 6) बति द्वादश्यां सूर्यदि- (l. 7) ने रेवत्यां नक्षत्रे[।*]गवां (l. 8)कोटि-पदाणेन[3] ग्रह[णे*] (l. 9)सो[म*]सूर्ययो [:।*]स[म*]तुल्य-फ (l. 10) [लं] देवी वरुणं यो प्र-(l. 11)तिष्ठितं[॥*] इति शुभं [॥*]

(l. 12) भट्ट-श्री-ज्जज-पौत्र—(l. 13)कोन-सुत-मुशु[णु] — — (l. 14) धुन्वतेन[4] — — — (l. 15)तु[5] चनिक-पुत्र-[श]— — — (l. 16) स्य परलोका[र्थं वरुण-] (l. 17) देव[:*] स्था [पित: संसा] (l. 17) र-भय-[भीतेन]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year 9, in the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Jāsaṭa, of divine descent; in [the month of] Jyeṣṭha, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 12, on Sunday at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Revatī. By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal merit [is attained as by him] who erects [an image of] Devī or Varuṇa. Muśuṇu the son of —kona, and grandson of the Bhaṭṭ, the illustrious Jaja, together with his wife (?) has erected [this] fountain-stone (*literally* god Varuṇa) for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of Ś . . ., the son of Canika and grandson (?) . . . . , while fearing with the fear of existence.

Nos. 30-32.—DĒVĪ-RĪ-KŌṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS.

(PLATES XXIX AND XXX.)

Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī (map Debri Koti) a village of the Berā (map Baira) *pargaṇā* of the Curāh *wazārat* is situated at an elevation of 7,705′ on the western slope of the Khablāh Nālā, a side-valley of the Berā Nālā. The place is named after a temple of

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[1] Between the words महाराजाधिराज and परमेश्वर three *akṣaras* राज have been wrongly inserted.

[2] The word कुशली which is regularly found in copper-plate grants after the donor's name, is meaningless here. I have left it untranslated.

[3] This corrupt *śloka* occurs also in inscriptions Nos. 23, 41 and 43.

[4] Perhaps [य]ध्वन्तिन is meant.

[5] Possibly [पौ]त्र.

the goddess Cāmuṇḍā (modern Coṇḍā) Devī. The present building, decorated with quaint frescoes and curious carvings in *deodār* and *shīsham* wood, was erected in A.D. 1754 by Rājā Umēd Siṅgh, as appears from the following Ṭākarī inscription cut on two wooden boards on both sides of the entrance.

TEXT.

सं ३० भद्रो प्र २१ नगग्रत अथ जे स्रो-माहरजे उमेद सीघे स्रो-देवो चमुंडा दा देहार पाय देहारे दा सोरदार स्रो-मीअ बीसन सोघ हाजरी नील्हेडो घया सुगलाल झगडु चखण गुदेव झंडा बटेहेड हेलु देबु गठीर द्याल पोह प्र २९ सवत लीख्य सुभ

CORRECTED READING.

सं ३० भाद्रो प्र २१ लगायत अथ जे श्री-महाराजे उमेद सिंघे श्री-देवी चामुंडा दा देहरा पया। देहरे दा सरदार श्री-मियां बिसन सिंघ। हाज़री निल्हेड़ी घंयां सुगलाल झगडु। चखाण गुरदेव झंडा। बटेहड़ा हैलु देबु गठीर द्याल। पोह प्र २९ संवत् लिख्या। शुभं॥

TRANSLATION.

"In the year 30 [the month of] Bhādrō 21, on that date the illustrious Mahārājā Umēd Siṅgh has built the temple of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā. The Superintendent (*sardār*) of the temple the illustrious Miyāṇ Bisan Siṅgh; the stewards, Ghaṁyāṁ the Nilhēṛī and Jhagṛu of Suṅgaḷ[1]; the carpenters Gurdēv and Jhaṇḍā, the stone masons Dēbu of Hail and the *cēlā* (?) Dyāl. Written on the 29th of Pōh. Bliss!"

There are, however, at Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī remains of much greater antiquity. The village contains, besides a small *liṅga* shrine, the ruins of a large building now overgrown with vegetation, which by local tradition is said to have been the castle of a Rāṇā or Ṭhākur (Cf. above fig. 18). That this tradition is founded on fact, is borne out by three epigraphical records, which belong to a fountain enclosure to the north-east of the village, on the road leading to Sāc in Pāṅgī by the Cēnī (map Chaia) Pass and by the villages of Caṇḍru and Hail.

No. 30.—NĀRĀYAṆA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀNAKA NĀGA-PĀLA.—(PLATE XXIX.)

In the centre of the back-wall of this fountain-enclosure there was a stone figure (height $14\frac{1}{2}''$; width $8\frac{3}{4}''$) of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, which has now been deposited in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 9). It is three-faced, the side faces being respectively those of a boar and a lion, and shows the god seated on Garuḍa, clasping Lakṣmī in his left arm, and holding a mace in his right hand. Evidently the image was originally four-armed. The whole sculpture is much defaced. On the base is the inscription in two lines $7\frac{3}{4}''$ and $5''$ long. It is clearly cut and well-preserved, except for the two first *akṣaras* of the second line, which are lost but can be restored with certainty. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}''$.

[1] Cf. above, pp. 11 f. and 164 ff.

TEXT.

ओं। स्वस्ति राजानक-महाश्री-नगपालेन नारायण-देव घटापिता सूत्र-(l. 2)[धार]-उद-सुत-सभगेण घटितं इति शुभः

CORRECTED READING.

ओं स्वस्ति। राजानक-महाश्री-नागपालेन नारायण-देवः घाटितः सूत्र-(l. 2)धारोदसुत-सभगेन घटितः। इति शुभम्।

TRANSLATION.

Hail! By the Rāṇā, the very illustrious Nāga-pāla [this image of] god Nārāyaṇa [was] caused to be made; [it was] made by the artisan[1] Sabhaga, the son of Uda.

Fig. 25. Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscriptions refixed.

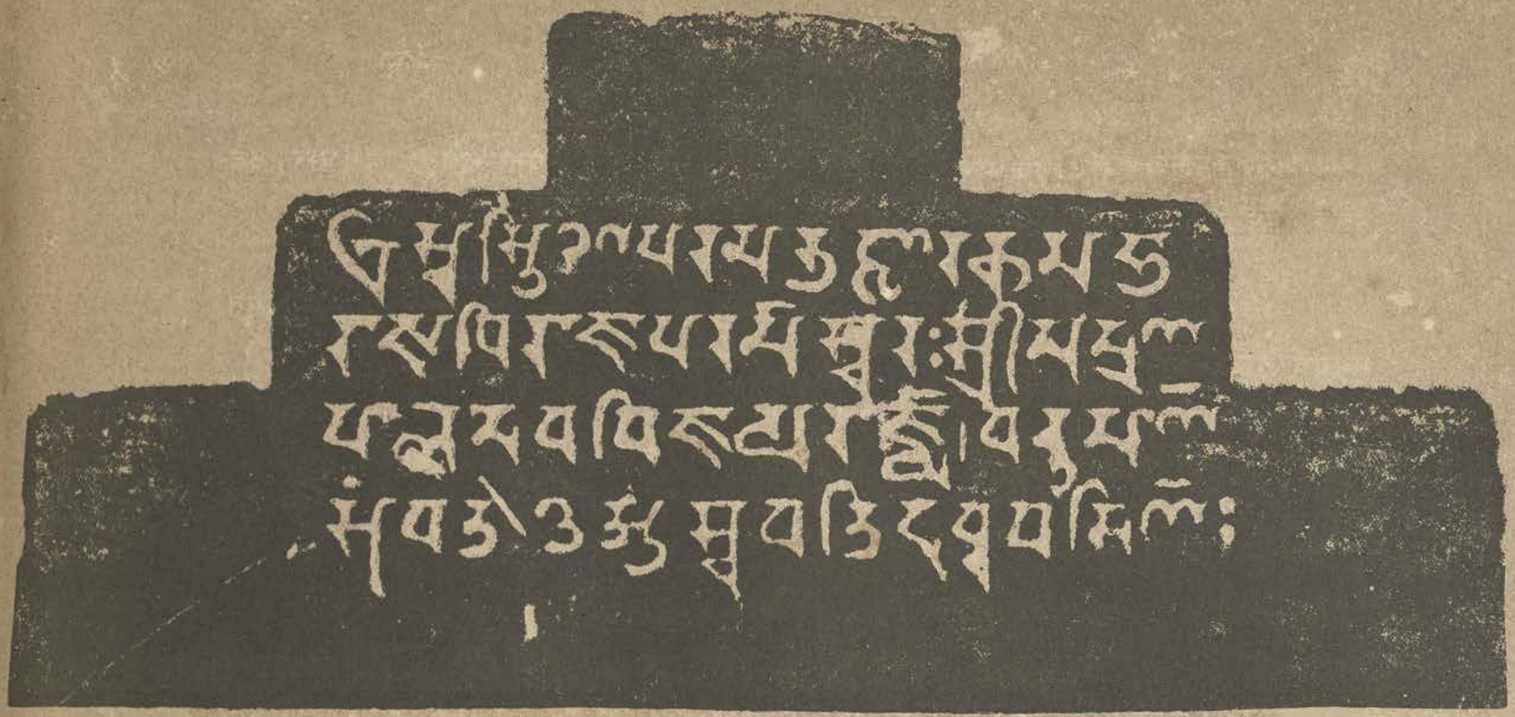
No. 31.—STONE INSCRIPTION OF RAṆA-PĀLA OF THE YEAR 2.[2]

(Plate XXIX.)

The Viṣṇu image just described is enclosed between two upright slabs, each $2\frac{3}{4}''$ wide. A large stone (1′ 9″ wide, $5\frac{3}{4}''$ high) overlaps the three. It has two round mortices $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter placed at a distance of 14″ apart and corresponding to two similar holes in the stone on which the image rests. They were evidently meant to receive bars which kept the image in position, as their distance nearly agrees with the width of the image and the two adjoining slabs ($8\frac{1}{4}''+2\times2\frac{3}{4}''=13\frac{3}{4}''$). On the face of the surmounting stone the second inscription is found. It consists of four

[1] Grammatically the word *sūtradhāra* may just as well belong to Uda, but in a country where the son invariably followed the trade of his father, this comes practically to the same thing.

[2] On the date of this inscription cf. above, p. 75.



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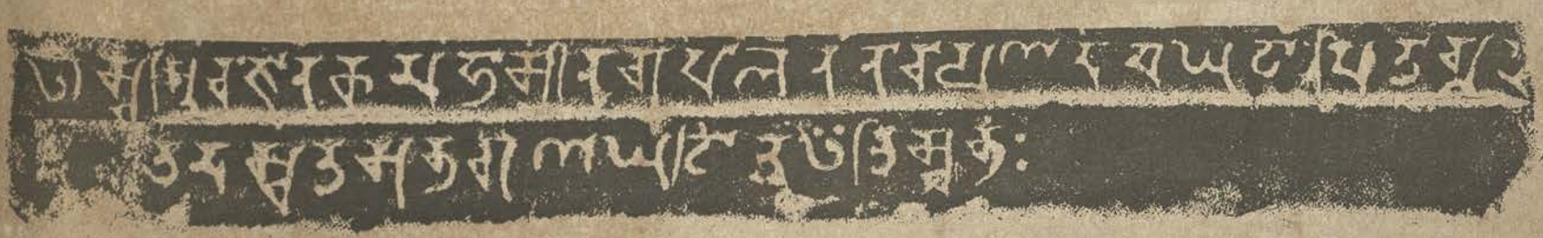

SCALE 1

lines 7″ in length; the average size of the letters is ½″. It is well-preserved and its execution is excellent. The stone is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 11).

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति: । परमभट्टारक-महा-(l. 2) राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर: श्रीमद्रण-(l. 3) पाल-देव-विजय-राज्ये । वर्तमाणे (l. 4) संवत् २ आश्व वति ८ बुधदिणे:

CORRECTED READING.

ओं स्वस्ति: । परमभट्टारक-महा-(l. 2) राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्रण-पाल-देव-विजय-राज्ये वर्तमान-संवत् २ आश्विन बति ८ बुधदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the victorious reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Raṇa-pāla of divine descent, in the current year 2 [the month of] Āśvina, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 8, on Wednesday.

No. 32.—FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀNAKA NĀGA-PĀLA OF THE 17TH YEAR OF LALITA-VARMAN. (A.D. 1159-61).

(PLATE XXX.)

The last and most important of the three Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscriptions is carved on a stone slab (18½″ high, 10½″ wide) which originally must have stood to the proper left of the Nārāyaṇa image and is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 10). In its upper proper right corner a rectangular piece (4″×3¾″) is cut away so as to make the slab fit into the overlapping top-stone which bears the second inscription (No. 31). The latter shows a groove 1½″ wide which is exactly the thickness of the slab under discussion (*cf.* fig. 25).

The inscription consists of twenty-five lines and is composed in Sanskrit poetry. From the fact that the numbering of the stanzas begins with 10 it is evident that the slab contains only the second half of the *praśasti*. According to local tradition, there existed another inscribed slab of the same size which stood on the proper right side of the Viṣṇu image. It is said to have been removed by a *lama* some forty years ago and carried off to Pāṅgī across the Cēnī Pass. Whether this be true or not, the stone is no longer *in situ*. This is the more to be deplored, as the inscription is both of literary and historical interest. The remaining slab, moreover, which contains the second half of the inscription is badly damaged, the surface having peeled off, more or less, all along the edge of the stone. In this manner the first line has half disappeared. The marginal portions of lines 7-25 are lost, the number of missing syllables varying from three to about twenty. The end of lines 17-25 also is completely destroyed, so that of the last two lines only a few syllables in the centre are still traceable.

The greater part of the inscription is composed in poetry, which circumstance enables us to restore to a certain extent the missing syllables. The stanzas are numbered from 10 to 17. The metres used are the following:—St. 10 *Śikhariṇī*, 11 *Upajāti*, 12 *Mālinī*, 13 *Vasantatilaka*, 14 *Upajāti*, 15 *Mālinī*, 16 *Pṛthvī* and

17 *Āryā.* The concluding three and a half lines of the inscription are apparently in prose.

The Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscription possesses great literary merit. The poet has freely used rhetorical ornaments, but in such a manner that they bring out the sense, instead of obscuring it. The description of the pious works done by Balhā after the death of her husband is very fine. The poet indulges in the use of rhyming words with great melodious effect. Verse 15 with its reference to the instability of this world is worthy of the best poets of ancient India. We can only deplore the fact that no literary productions of the poet and Rāja-guru Kamala-lāñchana have been bequeathed to us, except this sadly mutilated eulogy.

The only mistakes to be noticed are *pāpajalma-* (l. 6) for *pāpajāla* which is evidently due to the stone-mason, and perhaps *avabuddhyā°* (l. 16) for *avabudhyā,°* if my restoration of verse 15 is correct. In l. 24 we find *sthāpatī* which apparently stands for *sthapati.* The *visargas* in this and the last line can hardly be correct, but unfortunately this part of the inscription is almost wholly destroyed. The use of the uncommon word *utpuṁsita* in lines 5-6 should be noted.

As regards spelling, we notice that the final sibilant is retained before an initial sibilant, *e.g. °jālaś=Śrī°* (l. 6) and *°śokas=sapadi* (l. 7). Final nasals before mutæ are rendered by the *anusvāra.* In this respect the present inscription differs from that of Sarāhaṇ (No. 13), where the nasals are retained. We find the *upadhmānīya* used in ll. 2 and 17.

The skill of the stone-mason who carved the inscription is no less remarkable than that of the poet who composed it. The lettering is clear and distinct. The use of wedges and angular forms produces a pleasing effect. The inscription is undoubtedly the best specimen of that later Śāradā which we find also used in the Baijnāth *praśastis.* The angular forms of *pa* and *dha,* the sloping base-lines of *ca, ma* and *va* and the peculiar shape of *kha* deserve special notice. The medial vowels *e, ai, o* and *au* are rendered throughout by the superscribed signs. It will be seen that the *o* mark has the same appearance as in the Baijnāth inscriptions. Where *m* is provided with a *virāma* (ll. 8, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 17) the full *akṣara* is found (Cf. above, No. 13.)

As to the contents of the inscription, verse 11 contains a eulogy of Nāga-pāla who may be safely identified with the Rājānaka Nāga-pāla of the Nārāyaṇa inscription (No. 30), and must have been the local Rāṇā of the time. The preceding stanza evidently was devoted to the praise of his mother, Balhā.[1] We may assume that on the lost slab, containing the first half of the inscription, the history of Nāga-pāla's family was given. In verse 12 we find the interesting statement that Nāga-pāla, after the death of his father, prevented his mother from following him, *i.e.* from becoming *satī,* and in the following verse we are told that she devoted the rest of her life to the upbringing of her two sons, and to works of piety and religion. Verse 14 records the no less important fact that king Lalita conferred on Nāga-pāla the title of Rājānaka. It will be seen that the word expressing the title is lost, but

[1] The masculine form *Balha* occurs as the name of a *Yuvarāja* of Trigarta (Kāṅgrā) in the Rājat. VIII, 549, transl. Stein, Vol. II. p. 44. *Cf.* above p. 105.

it must have consisted of four syllables — — ⏑ ⏑, and we may safely restore it as *rājānaka*, the title which Nāga-pāla bears in the Nārāyaṇa image inscription. In verse 15 we find the purport of the inscription expressed in exquisite language; namely the construction of a water-tank by Balhā in memory of her deceased husband. Verse 16 contains the date of the inscription, reckoned from the accession of Lalita-varman, and the name of its author Kamala-lāñchana the *guru* of the Rājā just mentioned. This, at least, is the purport of the last portion of this stanza, if my restoration of the missing syllables is correct. The last verse is a benedictory stanza which concludes the *praśasti* proper. The remaining three and a half prose lines must have contained the date expressed in the Śāstra-kāla, and the names of the overseers and workmen connected with the construction of the tank referred to in the inscription.

This part of the epigraph, as remarked above, is almost entirely destroyed. Of the date only the syllables *Śāstrī-* are preserved. Fortunately the data contained in verse 16 enable us to fix the time at which the inscription was composed. There the date is said to be the year of Lalita-varman indicated by the words "Sage" (*muni*) and "moon" (*vidhu*). As the numerical value of these words is 7 and 1, respectively, the inscription must date from the 17th year of Lalita-varman. The name of this Rājā is not only found in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (*Śloka* 86), but occurs also in the Sālhī fountain inscription (No. 33) to be discussed later on. The latter document enables us to fix his accession in the year A.D. 1143 or 44. The Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* must, therefore, be assigned to the year A.D. 1159-60 or 1160-61 and the corresponding Śāstra year would be 35-6 or 36-7.

TEXT.

⏑ — — — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑(l. 2)याश्चाटुकविधिं विधातुं वा तस्याऽपि(l. 3)रिमि-
तगिरीलं गुणनिधेः ॥१०॥

(l. 4)तस्यामभूदस्य शुभैकशालो गुणै-(l. 5)र्विशालो रिपुलोक-कालः[।*]
धर्म्यक्रियोत्पुंसि-(l. 6) त-पापजल्प[1] श्श्रीनागपालो रणसोम्यबालः[॥११॥]
(l. 7) [पितरि पर] मुपेते लोकमस्लोकशोकस्मपदि पतिवियोगा-(l. 8) [न्मूर्छितां मातरं]
स्वाम्[2] [।*]

अनुगमन-विधानाद्दारयामास कृच्छ्रात्स नय-(l. 9)[विनयशालो बाल]कैनानुजेन॥१२॥
संग्रामवाप्य सततं नि-(l. 10) [यतोपवा] स-तीव्रव्रतैर्निज-तनुं तनुतां नयन्तो।
द्वर्द्धिं नि-(l. 11) [नाय व] रदानमसौ सुतौ च दोने दयां च मुरवैरिणि (l. 12) [चैव] भक्तिम्[3]
॥१३॥

तं नागपालं ललित-क्षितीशश्चकार (l. 13) [राजानक-[4]] शब्दवाच्यम् [।*]
अकाण्ड-चञ्चद्यमदण्ड-चण्ड-दोर्द-(l. 14) [ण्ड-काला] सि-विखण्डितारिम् ॥ १४ ॥

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[1] Read पापजाल.
[2] The *akṣara svā* is still traceable on the back of the estampage.
[3] The *akṣara bha* is broken, but is still recognisable.
[4] The last *akṣara* of this word is partly preserved.

जवन-पवन-वेल्लल्लोल-कल्लो-(l. 15) [ल-] माला[1]-प्रतिमित-शशिलेखा-चञ्चलं जोवलोकम् [।*]
प्रति-(l. 16) [पदम] वबुद्धा[2]चोकारत्साथ बल्हा निजपति-सुकृतार्थं पुष्क- (l. 17) [राधा]
रमे[3] तम् ॥१५
शुभैक-कृत-कर्मण्य[परवधू-] (l. 18) [विपन्न]मंणो वितोर्ण-बहुभर्मणोर्थिषु हत[4]-
[द्विषच्छर्मण: ।]
(l. 19) [बृह]ल्ललितवर्मणो मुनि-विधून्मिते वत्सरे [प्र[5]शस्तिमकरोदि-] (l. 20) [मां कम]
ललाञ्छनस्तदुरु: ॥१६॥
सन्तो नन्दन्तु[6] [सदा जगद-] (l. 21)पि सुखशालि भवतु सामन्त: [।*]
भुवि जय[तु नागपालस्तो] (l. 22) [याशय] एष च स्थिरो भवतु ॥१७॥
शास्त्री [ये संवत्सरे ?] (l. 23) निर्मितेयं[7] प्रशस्तिरिति श्रेय: ॥ घटित — —
(l. 24) उद्दसुत[8]-स्थापतो भागराजेण:[9] — — — — — — — — —
(l. 25) भडि-त्यगेण भडि-भगोरेण:[10] — — — — — — — — —

TRANSLATION.[11]

. . . . [this] was enough even to flatter her [who was] of measured speech and a vessel of virtue. She bore him [a son] the illustrious Nāgapāla, the sole abode of grace, great by his virtues, the destroyer of his foes, he who by his righteous works had swept away the web of sin, not [acting] like a child in the fore-front of the battle. After *his father* had gone to the next world, he—*that abode of* good deportment *and modesty*—overwhelmed with grief, with difficulty and through his younger brother [who was still] *an infant* held back from following him [into death] his mother, instantly *fainting* at the separation from her lord. She recovered consciousness and henceforth, whilst by rigid vows *of constant fasts* she reduced her body to meagreness, she brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor *and* her devotion to Kṛṣṇa. On this Nāga-pāla king Lalita conferred the title of *Rāṇā*, on him who with his deadly sword and rod-like arm—fierce like the suddenly flashing rod of Death—had torn asunder his foes.

But Balhā [his mother], who at every step had conceived the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves, restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, had this *cistern* made for the sake of the bliss of her lord.

In the year shown by [the words] "seer" and "moon" of [the reign of] the great Lalita-varman—who solely performs good works and whose sport is *the*

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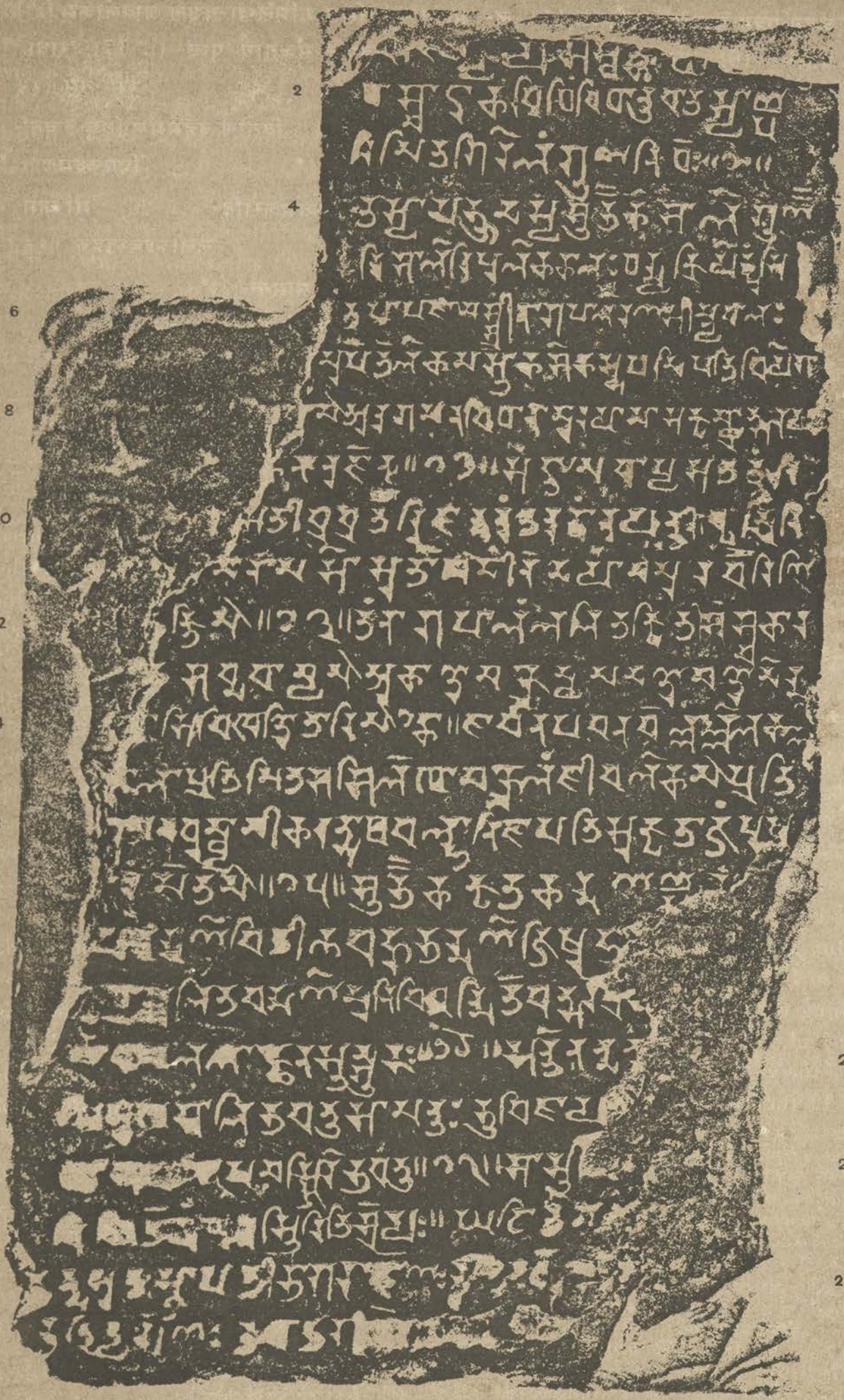
[1] The *akṣara mā* is traceable; the wedge indicating *ā* is distinct.
[2] Read वबुध्या.
[3] The *akṣara ra* is slightly damaged.
[4] The *ta* is traceable on the back of the estampage.
[5] The lower portion of *pra* is preserved.
[6] The *akṣara ntu* is practically certain.
[7] The first six *akṣaras* of line 23 are defaced, but their outlines and vowel marks are still visible.
[8] The *akṣaras* of this word are worn, but still recognisable. *Cf.* above, No. 30, l. 2 *Udasutv-*.
[9] Read स्थपति-भागराजेन.
[10] The *akṣaras* of line 25 are all indistinct; the reading is therefore doubtful.
[11] Words in italics represent the missing portions of the inscription which have been restored. Words between square brackets are not expressed in the original and have been added for the sake of clearness.

Dēvī-rī-kōthī Fountain Inscription.



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misfortune of the wives of his enemies, who has lent much support to the needy and baffled *the joy of his rivals*—Kamala-lāñchana his spiritual guide *composed this eulogy.*

May the righteous *ever* rejoice and *the world* be full of happiness; may the baron *Nāga-pāla* be victorious on earth and may this *cistern* be stable.

In the year 35-6(?) of the Śāstra era was this eulogy composed. May it be blessed. This cistern was constructed by Master Bhāgarāja the son of Udda . . . . by the mason, Tyaga, by the mason Bhagīra . . . . .

NOTES.

In support of the proposed restorations of incomplete or missing syllables the following is to be noted:

(L. 6.) Of the two syllables which I read *jāla* the first is clearly *ja* without the *ā* stroke, which is always attached to the end of the central slanting stroke; the second syllable presents the appearance of *lma*. But on account of the preceding *pāpa* and the past participle *utpuṁsita*, there can be little doubt that *jāla* is the correct reading. It should also be noticed that the poet makes all the epithets of Nāga-pāla rhyme with his name.

(L. 7.) The restoration of the five missing syllables at the beginning of this line may be regarded as correct. Evidently the death of Nāga-pāla's father was mentioned here; otherwise the main sentence would be unintelligible.[1]

(L. 8.) Here also the proposed restoration of the first six syllables is necessitated by the context, the word *mūrchitāṁ* by the expression *saṁjñām avāpya* in the beginning of the next stanza, and the word *mātaraṁ* by the immediately following *svām*. Of this word the first *akṣara svā* is still traceable.

(L. 9.) In the beginning of this line seven *akṣaras* are lost, the metrical scheme being ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑. The proposed restoration is due to Pandit Daya Ram Sahni and is, if not certain, at least plausible. The sign for *ka* at the end of the missing portion is still clearly traceable. As the syllable, which is followed by a single consonant, must be long but has neither the *ā* nor *o* stroke, the only alternative is that it was *ke*, the *e* being expressed by a stroke in front of the *akṣara*. An objection to this assumption is that medial *e* is throughout expressed by the superscribed mark in this inscription. The word ending in *kena* must, of course, be connected with the following *anujena* and may well have been *bālakena*, unless we are to assume that it was a proper name ending in *pālakena*.

(Ll. 10-12.) As in verse 13 the words *tanutāṁ* and *vṛddhiṁ* are placed in opposition to each other, it is evident that after *vṛddhiṁ* also a form of the verb *nayati* is required. The syllable *ni* preserved at the end of line 10 enables us to restore *ninīya*. Of the following word *varadānam* the second syllable *ra* can still be traced. The first syllable of the word *bhaktim* at the end of the stanza is extant in outline.

(L. 13.) The restoration of the word *rājānaka* has already been discussed. The last syllable, it will be seen, is partly preserved.

[1] *Cf.* पितरि दिवमुपेते in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skanda-gupta (l. 12) *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 54.

(L. 15.) Of the two missing syllables at the beginning of this line the first must be *la* to complete the word *kallola*. The other I at first felt inclined to read *ve ;* but as there are traces of an *ā* stroke, the syllable to be substituted can only be *mā*. The expression *kallola-mālā* is not uncommon in Sanskṛit literature.[1]

(L. 16.) An objection which could be raised to my restoring the missing syllables of line 16 in the manner suggested above is that the inscription clearly has *buddhyā* and not *budhyā*. But the substitution of *ddhy* for *dhy* in gerunds (which is evidently due to some confusion with the past participle and the *nomen actionis*) is by no means uncommon in epigraphical records. In the same way we find *śuddhyate* instead of *śudhyate* in the copper-plate inscription of Yugākara (No. 14, l. 18.) Moreover, the preceding *ava* forbids us to regard *buddhyā* as a noun. By the proposed emendation the relation between the two halves of the distich is established, and its meaning becomes perfectly clear. It is evident that the object of the verb *acīkarat* cannot be the preceding *jīvalokam*, but that it must have stood at the end of the stanza. It was evidently a masculine noun, as appears from its attribute *etam*. It must have signified a water-tank, and must have consisted of five syllables answering to the metrical scheme — ⏑ — — ⏑. The first two of these syllables are found at the end of line 16. One is clearly *pu* and as here a long syllable is required, the next *akṣara* must contain a compound consonant. As the preserved upper portion represents *ṣ*, it is obviously right to restore the *akṣara* as *ṣka* and the whole word as *puṣkarādhāram*, a synonym of the more common expression *puṣkariṇī* which etymologically means "a lotus-pond" (from *puṣkara*, a blue lotus) but is regularly used in the sense of "an artificial tank."[2] The letter *r* and the preceding mark for medial *ā* can still be distinguished at the beginning of line 17.

(Ll. 17-20.) The 16th stanza contains the name of Lalita-varman in the genitive case combined with a series of compound epithets, each of which has a word rhyming with *-varman* as its last member. We have met with an instance of this *alaṁkāra* in verse 11 of the inscription under discussion.[3] Bearing this in mind, we shall be able to restore this stanza, notwithstanding its mutilated state. The first epithet *śubhaika-kṛta-karmanaḥ* is complete. Of the next one, most of the syllables are either indistinct or lost. The conjectural reading *para-vadhū-vipan-narmaṇo*, suggested to me by Paṇḍit Daya Ram Sahni, is based on the following considerations. As the preceding word ends in an *upadhmānīya*, the initial consonant must be either *p* or *ph*. If we have to choose between the two, the probability is in favour of *p* as the more common one. In the beginning of the following line we have the four *akṣaras pannarmaṇo* which form the end of the adjective compound. The syllables *pa* and *nna*, though somewhat defaced, can still be read. The epithet, as restored expresses a thought often met with in panegyrics of royal personages,[4] though hardly complimentary according to modern ideas.

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[1] Cf. *Bhāminīvilāsa* (Bombay) Act I, v. 59.

[2] *Cf.* the Paṭhyār rock-inscription edited *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, No. 16, pp. 116 ff.

[3] Cf. also *Jonarāja* v. 27 and *Baijnāth praśasti* II, v. 11.

[4] Cf. the pillar-inscription of Vīsala-deva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 218) which commences: "Tears forsooth are in the eyes of [thine] enemy's consort."

The third adjective, ending in *bharman* which is entire, is to be connected with the following *'rthiṣu*. Of the next epithet, consequently, no more than the first *akṣara* which is *ha*, remains, and the proposed restoration is necessarily doubtful. Considering, however, that the last member of the compound must rhyme with *varman* and that *karman*, *bharman* and *narman* have already been used, our choice for the ending word is restricted to a few expressions. It may also be noticed that the second *akṣara ta* can be recognized on the back of the estampage, so that only the second member of the compound can be said to be arbitrary, except as far as its form is determined by metrical exigencies. The third syllable of line 19 is certainly *lla*. The traces which remain of the first two *akṣaras* support the proposed reading *bṛha*, which suits the metre and yields good sense.

Finally, it remains to discover in what connection Kamala-lāñchana (the first two syllables are practically certain) "the *guru* of him," *i.e.* of Lalita-varman is mentioned at the end of the stanza. Naturally we expect to find the name of its author in the concluding portion of the inscription. The Rājaguru who is bound to be a Sanskrit scholar would be a fit person to compose a *praśasti*. Our conclusion is that Kamala-lāñchana composed the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscription, and by supplying the missing syllables in the proposed manner, this has been expressed in the simplest possible way.[1] It will be seen that of the first syllable of the word *praśastim* in line 19 the lower portion is still extant. The initial syllable of the next line preserves roughly the outline of the *akṣara mām*.

(Ll. 20-22). As verse 17 is evidently composed in the *Āryā* metre, and the quantity of the lost syllables, therefore, cannot be fixed, the restoration of the missing portions is attended with some difficulty. From what remains it is manifest that this stanza has the same benedictory purport as the concluding verse of the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13), which is composed in the same metre. In both cases the pious patron is specially commemorated, for there can be no doubt that the *sāmantaḥ* in l. 21 of the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscription is no other than Rājānaka Nāga-pāla previously mentioned. The adjective *sukhaśāli* in the same line cannot, of course, be connected with the word *sāmantaḥ*, but must belong to a neuter noun which has become lost at the end of line 20. This noun I suppose to be *jagad* which with the following *api* (*pi*, the first *akṣara* of line 21, is legible) makes the fourth foot of the first half-verse. To complete the third foot, a short and a long syllable are supplied by the word *sadā*. Thus the first half verse is restored.

The second half-verse I propose to restore in the following fashion suggested to me by Paṇḍit Hirananda. We may complete the syllables *jaya* as *jayatu* and supply the name of *Nāga-pāla* who, as just stated, is the *sāmanta* mentioned at the end of the first half-verse. It is also possible that the missing word was an adjective like *vipula-kīrti*. As no trace of any letters remains, the restoration is necessarily conjectural. Of the remaining five feet we have *eṣa ca sthiro bhavatu*. The initial *e* with its peculiar shape and the *ṣa*, though both broken, may be regarded as

[1] Cf. *Baijnāth praśasti*, l. 38.

शृङ्गार-भृङ्गकौ यस्य पितरौ पुरुषशालिनौ।
स प्रशस्तिमिमां चक्रे राम-नाम-कवीश्वरः॥

certain. From what remains it is evident that the verse is an *āryā* stanza of the *udgīti* variety. We require, therefore, besides the fourth foot, only one short syllable to complete the fifth foot. We may safely assume that the object for the stability of which the poet prays is the cistern which supplied the subject of his poem.[1] We require, therefore, a masculine noun, meaning a water-tank, which will fit the metre. The word *toyāśaya* meets the case. It will be seen that the defaced three *akṣaras* at the beginning of line 22 may quite well have been *yā*, *śa* and *ya*. The first has traces of the *ā* mark, the second shows a distinct vertical and the third one has retained its shape so as to be still recognisable.

The first syllables of line 23, though somewhat defaced, can be read. The last two lines, which contain the names of the workmen, it is, of course, impossible to restore. It seems probable that Udda mentioned in the beginning of line 24 is the same individual as the *sūtradhāra* Uḍa, whose son, Sabhaga (Subhāga ?), carved the Nārāyaṇa image (cf. above, p. 208). The latter would consequently be a brother of Bhāgarāja, unless we are to assume that both names indicate the same person.

No. 33.—SĀLHĪ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀNAKA LUDRAPĀLA OF THE 27TH YEAR OF LALITA-VARMAN; ŚĀSTRA [42] 46 (A.D. 1170).—(PLATES XXXI AND XXXII.)

This inscription is found in Pāṅgī at the village of Sālhī (map Sauli), some seven miles from Sāc (map Sauch) in the romantic Sēcu glen (fig. 1) which debouches into the Candrabhāgā valley near the latter place. It may be noticed here that an ancient route connecting Pāṅgī and Lahul leads up the Sēcu Nālā, and, after crossing the Ghōṛ-Dhār (map Gurdhar) Pass, descends by the Maiyāṛ Nālā to the Candrabhāgā valley which it rejoins at Markulā or Udaipur (map Odapur). Starting from Sāc, the stages are Sēcu (map Saichu; height 8,412′), Baṭor (map Bataor; height 11,638′), Siṅghmaṛh (height 13,000′), Maiyāṛ (map Miyar; height 10,215′) and Cimrat. This road, notwithstanding the pass, is said to be shorter and easier than that which follows the Candrabhāgā. It is practicable for hill-ponies which circumstance perhaps accounts for the name of the pass.[2]

The inscription is incised on an enormous fountain-slab (6′ 6″ high; 7′ wide), the largest of its kind yet seen, covered with the figures of various deities. These are arranged in three horizontal rows, the upper and central row each containing five, and the lowermost row four figures. The place of the central panel of this row is pierced by a square hole, through which an ornamental water-spout is passed. The spring which once fed it has either dried up or changed its course. Unfortunately the stone has at some time been thrown down by an avalanche,

[1] We may compare the concluding verse of the Sarāhaṇ *praśasti*:

जयतु हिमरश्मिशेखर भावसुधश्चेदमस्तु देवकुलम् ।
प्रख्याततमञ्जयतु च पृथ्वीं श्रीसात्यकिस्मकलाम् ॥

or the last stanza of the Sarban well inscription:

इन्द्रप्रस्थ-प्रतिगणे ग्रामे सारवले च तु ।
चिरं तिष्ठतु कूपीयं कारकश्च सबांधवः ॥

[2] It is also possible to connect the name with the word *ghōṛī* which in the Cambiyālī dialect means "a rock, boulder."

whereby its lower portion was partly destroyed, and the upper, proper right corner broken off. For the rest, the stone is very well preserved. In excavating the cistern in front of the slab, we recovered some fragments of the missing portion, which had been used to support the slab at the time it was re-erected.

It is a point of considerable interest that in addition to the long inscription which records the erection of the slab, each of the figures carved on it is provided with a short epigraph containing its name. This, we shall see, is also the case with the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35). But, whereas at Sai the figures portray both deities and mortals, we find in the present instance only beings of the higher order. The figures are placed in sunk panels separated by slim pilasters.

The five figures of the upper row are all four-armed and seated in the same fashion: the right leg drawn up and the left placed on the ground. It is the position which in Buddhist art is peculiar to Bodhisattvas, and is known as the *Mahārājalīlā* or *Lalitāsana* attitude.[1] Each figure has its vehicle (*vāhana*) reclining at its feet. The centre of the upper row is occupied by Śiva seated on his bull Nandi. He is three-faced and four-armed and wears a crescent in his head-dress. His right hands hold a trident and a rosary; the attributes in his left hands seem to be a knife and some kind of fruit. A defaced inscription in two lines at the side of his head calls him *Lokapāla Īśāna*. Śiva, who is also called *Īśa* or *Īśāna* "the Lord," figures, that is to say, as one of the eight Lokapālas or World-protectors, his region being that of the north-east (Skr. *aiśānī* scil. *diś*).[2]

To his right we find a deity seated on an animal presumably meant for a horse or mule. His four hands are provided with an elephant hook (*aṅkuśa*) and a lotus-flower (*padma*) to the right, and with a club (*gadā*) and a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*) to the left. The inscription next to his head marks him as *Lokapāla Varu*[*ṇa*], i.e. "the World-protector Varuṇa," in other words the god of the waters in whose honour the slab was erected. His region is the West. I may note parenthetically that the aspect of Varuṇa in this sculpture is very uncommon. Mr. Cousens informs me that his effigy occurs among the deities on the great tower of Chitōṛ. Here he holds a snare and a rosary in his two right hands and a lotus and a water-pot in his left hands. The figure is inscribed: *Śrī-Varuṇa-mūrtiḥ*. The vehicle of Varuṇa is invariably the *makara*. On this animal he is seated as guardian of the west in the *aṣṭadikpāla* ceilings of the Western Presidency.[3]

On the other side of Śiva we find, in the terms of the inscription, *Lokapāla devarāja Indra*, i.e. "the World-protector, the king of the gods, Indra," who, having been from Vedic times the agent of rain and thunder, has very appropriately obtained a prominent place on our fountain-slab. Among the Lokapālas he is the guardian of the eastern region. He is four-armed, his right hands holding a club and his typical attribute the thunderbolt (*vajra*), his left hands an elephant hook and what appears to be a mace or sword. The ancient thundergod is shown seated on his elephant Airāvata or Airāvaṇa, in whom we may recognize the dark-coloured

[1] Cf. Foucher, *Etude sur l' iconographie bouddhique de l' Inde* (Paris, 1900) p. 67, n. 4.

[2] It should be remembered that Śiva's seat is Mount Kailāsa located in the Himālaya.

[3] Cf. *J. I. A.* Vol. II. pl. opp. p. 50.

rain-carrying thunder-cloud. In Sanskrit poetry the clouds are often compared to elephants, *e. g.*, in the following stanza from "The Little Clay Cart":[1]

"It seems as if the sky would take the guise
Of some fierce elephant to service bred;
The lightning like a waving streamer flies,
And white cranes serve to deck his mighty head."

It is interesting that Airāvata is also the name of a Nāga king, which by popular etymology has become changed into Elāpātra.

The two remaining figures of the upper row are both deities of the Śaiva Pantheon. At the proper right end we recognize the familiar shape of Gaṇeśa with a single-tusked elephant's head. He has exchanged his ordinary vehicle, the rat, for a lion possibly borrowed from the lion-seat (Skr. *siṁhāsana*) on which we find him often enthroned in older examples.[2] One of his right hands holds a rosary which, strange to say, is shown upright, the other some indefinite object. His left hands hold an axe and a vessel of sweet-meats, to which he has applied his trunk. The sculptor has thought it necessary to label even this most popular member of the Hindū Pantheon. The inscription, the first syllable of which is lost, runs [*Ga*]*ṇādhipati*.

The proper left end of the upper row is assigned to Śiva's other son, Skanda, Kārttikeya or, as the inscription incised on his breast names him, *Kumāra-deva* "the divine Prince." He is seated on his vehicle the peacock, and has his usual number of faces, whence his epithet Ṣaṇmukha or Ṣaḍānana "the six-faced One." His attributes are a trident, similar to that of Śiva, and a rosary in his two right hands, and another trident of different shape and a bird in his two left hands. In the second trident we may recognize a spear—Kārttikeya's typical attribute.[3]

The bird in the second left hand bears a very close resemblance to a parrot, but is more probably meant for a cock. This bird, at least, is mentioned as one of Kumāra's attributes in the following *dhyāna* which I have found on a miniature representing that deity:

सिन्दूरारुणमिन्दुकान्तिवदनं केयूरहारादिभि
र्दिव्यैराभरणै र्विभूषिततनुं स्वर्गस्य सौख्यप्रदम्।
अम्भोजाभयशक्तिकुक्कुटधरं दिव्याङ्गरागोज्ज्वलं
सुब्रह्मण्यमुपास्महे प्रणमतामिष्टार्थसिद्धिप्रदम्॥

"We worship the minium-red one, moonshine-faced, whose body is adorned with bracelets, garlands and other celestial ornaments, the giver of the joy of Paradise, who, beaming with heavenly ointment, bears a water-born lotus, protection,[4] a spear and a cock, and, very kind to Brāhmaṇs, gives the attainment of their desired objects to those who bow down before him."

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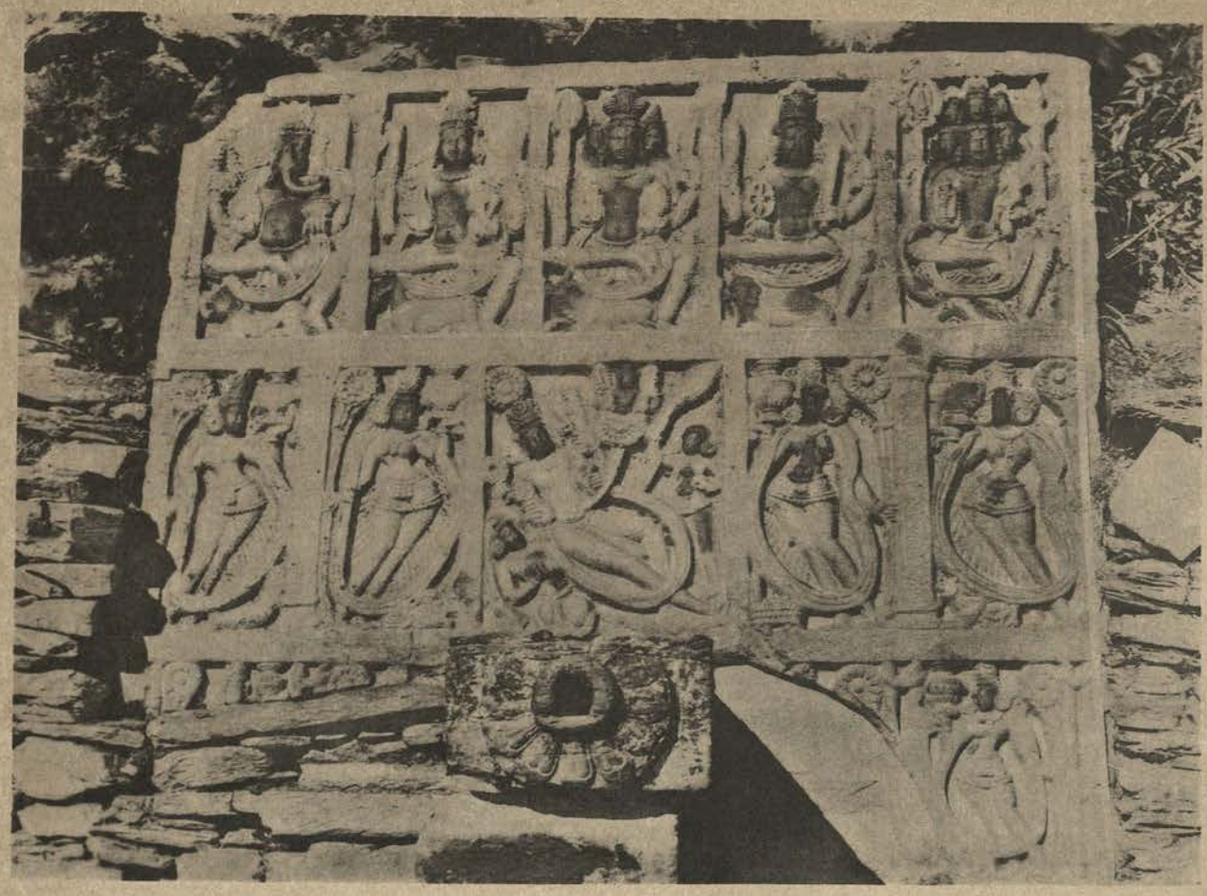
[1] *The Little Clay Cart* (*Mṛcchakaṭikā*) transl. by A. W. Ryder (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905), p. 83.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 139 f.

[3] In the third act of *The Little Clay Cart*, the Brāhmaṇ-burglar Śarvilaka speaks of his Patron Kārttikeya as "the Lord of the Golden Lance."

[4] One of Kārttikeya's right hands makes the gesture expressing "protection" (Skr. *abhaya-mudrā*) *scil.* it is raised with the open palm at the level of the shoulder.

Sālhī Fountain Stone.



HEIGHT 6′ 6″

In the centre of the middle row, right over the spout opening, we recognize the well-known scene of Viṣṇu's sleep, a symbolisation of the sun's disappearance during the season of the rains, and, therefore, very appropriate in the present instance. The subject is commonly found on the fountain-stones of Brahmor and Chatrāṛhī and is always treated in the same conventional manner. I have noticed it also on spring enclosures in Maṇḍi State. On our sculpture we see Viṣṇu reclining rather awkwardly on the Nāga Śeṣa, who joins his hands in adoration (*namaskāra*). It will be noticed that the Nāga does not wear the usual hood of snake-heads, but the lower part of his body is that of a serpent. Viṣṇu himself is three-faced, the right and left faces being those of a lion and a boar, respectively. This peculiar feature, not unfrequently found on Viṣṇu images in the Western Himālaya, he has in common with the Buddhist goddess, Mārīcī or Vajra-varāhī. He is four-armed and holds his ordinary attributes—the lotus (*padma*) and the wheel (*cakra*) to the right; and the conch-shell (*śaṅkha*) and the mace (*gadā*) to the left. From his navel springs a lotus-flower on which Brahmā, likewise four-armed and carrying his usual emblems, is seated. In front of Viṣṇu stands Lakṣmī fanning her lord with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*). The inscription over his head runs *Śīṣa-śayi* (read *Śeṣa-śāyī*) *Viṣṇu* which means "Viṣṇu resting on Śeṣa." The substitution of *ī* for *e* is a peculiarity of Sanskrit pronunciation in Kaśmīr, and seems to point to the author of the inscription having come from that country.

On both sides of the sleeping Viṣṇu there are two panels, each of which contains a female deity standing facing the centre, and holding a well-shaped water-vase in one hand, while the other clasps a lotus-stalk. The four figures are identical, but the vase is always in the hand next to the centre. They are, moreover, accompanied by different animals. Though from their attitude and attributes it is evident at once that these figures represent river-goddesses, it would have been impossible in every instance to fix their names solely by means of these more or less phantastical *vāhanas*. To remove our doubts, the sculptor has cut their names on the vases, which, in the Indian fashion, they hold raised to the level of their shoulders. Those names, in some cases, are given neither in Sanskrit nor in the modern vernacular, but in an intermediate form which probably corresponded to that in use at the time of the inscription. The two figures immediately to the right and left of Viṣṇu are the personifications of the sacred twin rivers, Gaṅgā[1] and Jamnā, readily recognizable from their vehicles—the crocodile in its conventional shape as *makara*, and the tortoise. They are, moreover, marked by inscriptions as *Gaṅgā* and *Jamuṇā*. The latter name is an intermediate form between Sanskrit *Yamunā* and the modern *Jamnā*. The lingual *ṇ* is evidently due to the propensity for cerebralisation of dentals, peculiar to the Cambiyālī dialect. The occurrence of Gaṅgā and Jamnā at the entrance of temples has been noticed above (pp. 143 f.)

I may mention here that, according to information received from Mr. Cousens we find the three river-goddesses Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī portrayed among the deities on the tower of Chitōṛ. The *vāhana* of Sarasvatī is a fish. In the Elura Caves in the courtyard of Kailāsa, there are three standing life-size images of these

[1] I am using the indigenous appellation of the chief river of India in preference to the unmelodious form which Europe inherited from Greece.

same three. While Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand upon the *makara* and the tortoise respectively, Sarasvatī stands upon a lotus.

The figure adjoining Gaṅgā on our sculpture has a fish as *vāhana* and is called *Veṭh*[1] in the inscription. This name we may safely interpret as a derivative of Sanskrit *Vitastā* signifying the westernmost of "the five rivers," famous both as the Hydaspes of Alexander's battle and Horace's melodious ode, and as the Vyath which waters the Happy Valley. If we remember the tanks, teeming with fish, of Vērnāg, Anantanāg and other sacred springs of Kaśmīr, the vehicle assigned here to the river which they feed, will seem most appropriate. It is hardly necessary to add that the Vyath of Kaśmīr is the same river as the Jēhlam of the Plains.

Next to the Jamnā we meet a river-goddess with a dragon. She represents the Indus, named in the inscription by its old Indian appellation *Siṇdhu*[2] (the modern *Sindh*), whence originated the name by which the whole Indian continent has become known to the West.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang,[3] when crossing the Indus at U-to-kia-han-cha, the ancient Udakabhāṇḍa or Udakhāṇḍa (modern Und or Ohind) speaks of "poisonous Nāgas and hurtful beasts" occupying the caverns and clefts along its banks. This may perhaps account for the vehicle which here distinguishes that river.

The third or lower-most row of deities is, as has been remarked above, partly missing; but enough remains to show that it contained four figures identical with those just described, but somewhat smaller in size. Of these four Naiads, that at the proper right end is the only one, the *vāhana* of which is preserved. It presents the appearance of a hippocamp such as frequently occurs on Græco-Buddhist sculptures.[4] The inscription leaves no doubt that the river personified here is the Biās (or *Byās* according to the legend), the Vedic Vipāś[ā] and the Hyphasis of Alexander's historians.

Of the figure at the opposite end the *vāhana* is lost, but the vase resting on its right hand retains the epigraph *Śataludra*, evidently an older form of the name Satluj (vulgo Sutlej) derived from the Vedic Śutudrī. An intermediate form Śatadru occurs in Sanskrit literature.[5]

The two inner figures of this row are almost completely gone, but they must have been similar to the others. We may safely assume that they represented the rivers Rāvī and Candrabhāgā; for it is not very probable that the two rivers of Chambā should have been omitted. Thus, besides the two sacred rivers Gaṅgā and Jamnā, and the not less important Sindh, we have the five great tributaries of the latter, which from ancient times have given to the country which they water its name "the land of the five rivers."

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[1] It would seem at first sight that there were two strokes over the initial consonant, but one of these belongs to the ornamentation of the vase on which the inscription is written.

[2] In the epigraph the word *Siṇdhu* is apparently spelled with lingual *ṇ* and dental *dh*. We may compare the form *Caṇpaka* (for *Campaka*) of the copper-plates, in which, however, the second consonant is a labial.

[3] *Si-yu-ki* (*transl.* Beal), Vol. I, p. 136.

[4] *Cf.* Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, fig. 121.

[5] Cf. Jonarāja, *Rājat.* 439; also *Pālam well inscr.* v. 14 in *Delhi Museum Cat.*, p. 24. In Chambā I have heard the name of the Satluj pronounced as "Satludr."

We have mentioned above that in front of the carved fountain-slab just-described there is a cistern meant to receive the water, but now filled with earth. It is rectangular in shape and measures 12′ 3″ by 5′ 8″. The front slab, 12′ 6″ wide, 1′ 8″ high and 1′ 3″ thick, is also decorated with carvings. Though much defaced, they allow us to recognize three crouching male figures, seated cross-legged and, separated by dwarf pilasters, the shafts of which bear lozenge-shaped ornaments. The whole device can be traced back to the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, where it is commonly applied to decorate the bases of *stūpas*.[1] Of the three figures the central one has his hands resting on his knees, in the attitude of an Atlant, though in reality there is nothing for him to support. It is equally strange that the two remaining figures are provided with fly-whisks, which would have been more appropriate if the central figure had been a deity. At the two ends of the slab there is a lion standing with its head turned outward. This indicates that the scheme of the decoration here exhibited was borrowed from the *simhāsana* of some image. That the fountain-slab, when seen in perspective, would, as it were, surmount the front stone may have suggested this form of ornamentation.

The inscription[2] is cut along the raised rim between the upper and central row of figures, and consists of three lines of unequal length. Lines 1 and 2 cover the whole width of the stone and measure 6′ 6½″ in length ; the third line is 5′ 7½″ long. The letters, which are on the average ½″ high, are well engraved, but in places the surface of the stone has disintegrated so as to make their shape indistinct. A more serious difficulty in dealing with this inscription is the circumstance that sometimes syllables have been left out. The language, moreover, is as defective as in other similar records. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged. We find *ṇ* instead of *n* in *bhuvaṇa* (l. 1) and *ārādhaṇe* (l. 3). The *anusvāra* is regularly found over any vowels which are followed by a preconsonantic nasal, and the *visarga* is freely placed at the end of words to separate them, as it were, from each other (Cf. above No. 28).

The first line contains three benedictory stanzas. The first composed in the *Puṣpitāgrā* metre is also found in the beginning of the copper-plate of Soma-varman (No. 24) and that of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25), so that we can easily restore its very corrupt reading. The second and third stanzas composed in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre are addressed to Śiva. For the correction of the second verse I am indebted to Professor Kielhorn. The third verse in which several syllables are missing has been restored by Paṇḍit Daya Ram Sahni.

The first half of the second line contains the date of the inscription: the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Lalita-varman or the forty-sixth year of the Śāstra era. The name of Lalita-varman occurs in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (*śl.* 85) immediately after Udaya-varman who assisted Sussala of Kaśmīr in the defence of Śrīnagara in A.D. 1122.[3] The year of our inscription must, therefore, be 1170 A.D. Unfortunately the other particulars of the date do not agree. Professor Kielhorn has arrived at the conclusion that most probably the month of Śrāvaṇa has been erroneously

[1] Cf. Foucher, *op. cit.* 208, figs. 84—87.
[2] Plate XXXII. It will be noticed that the estampage has been cut into four for reproduction.
[3] *Rājat.* VIII, 1083 ; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 86.

substituted for Āṣāḍha in which case the corresponding date of the Christian era would be Sunday, the 28th June, A.D. 1170.[1]

The rest of the second line is of unusual interest, as it contains the designations and names of the local officials. It will be seen that two of them bear the title *śegāṇa* or *segāṇa* which is certainly not Indian. Mr. A. H. Francke has suggested to me that the word is possibly a corruption of Tibetan *śogampa* meaning "a custom-house officer or tax-collector." This explanation seems very plausible and would point to a period of Tibetan rule in Pāṅgī previous to its conquest by the Rājās of Chambā. I may add that the vowel in the first syllable may perhaps be read *o* which would make the word still more similar to the Tibetan *śogampa*.

The first mentioned Segāṇa Kāluka was evidently the chief-official of Pāṅgī, which is here called Pāṅgatī. It will be noticed that, though his title may be of Tibetan origin, his name "Kālu" is certainly Indian. The next official, named Neṇu(ka), has the designation of *pratihāra* (read *pratīhāra*) which occurs also on the Sai fountain-slab (No. 35). Next comes Kutu(ka), the *daṇḍavāsika*, a title, also found on copper-plates, which probably denotes a police officer. The last-named official Siri(ka) who, like the one first-mentioned, bears the title *segāṇa* was evidently in charge of the *kōṭhī* (Sanskrit *koṣṭhika* cf. *koṣṭhāgāra* No. 25, l. 21).[2]

The last line of the inscription records the erection of the fountain-stone (*Varuṇa*) by Rāṇī Delhā, the wife of the Rāṇā Ludra-pāla. The name Ludra-pāla which evidently stands for Rudra-pāla, seems to point to Kaśmīr influence. We find the shrine of Jyeṣṭha-rudra on the Takht-i-Sulaimān near Śrīnagar designated as Jiṣṭha-ludra in an inscription of A.D. 1484.[3] It is not a little curious that up to the present day the house adjoining the Sālhī fountain-stone is inhabited by a family of *Rāṇās* (now simple agriculturists) who claim descent from the Ludra-pāla of our inscription (cf. fig. 21).

After a short sentence in praise of the water of the fountain, the inscription ends with the name of the writer, Kāyastha Sekha, and of the two stone-masons (Skr. *sūtradhāra*), Sahaja and Gagga. The latter certainly deserve more praise for their craft than the former for his knowledge of Sanskrit.

TEXT.

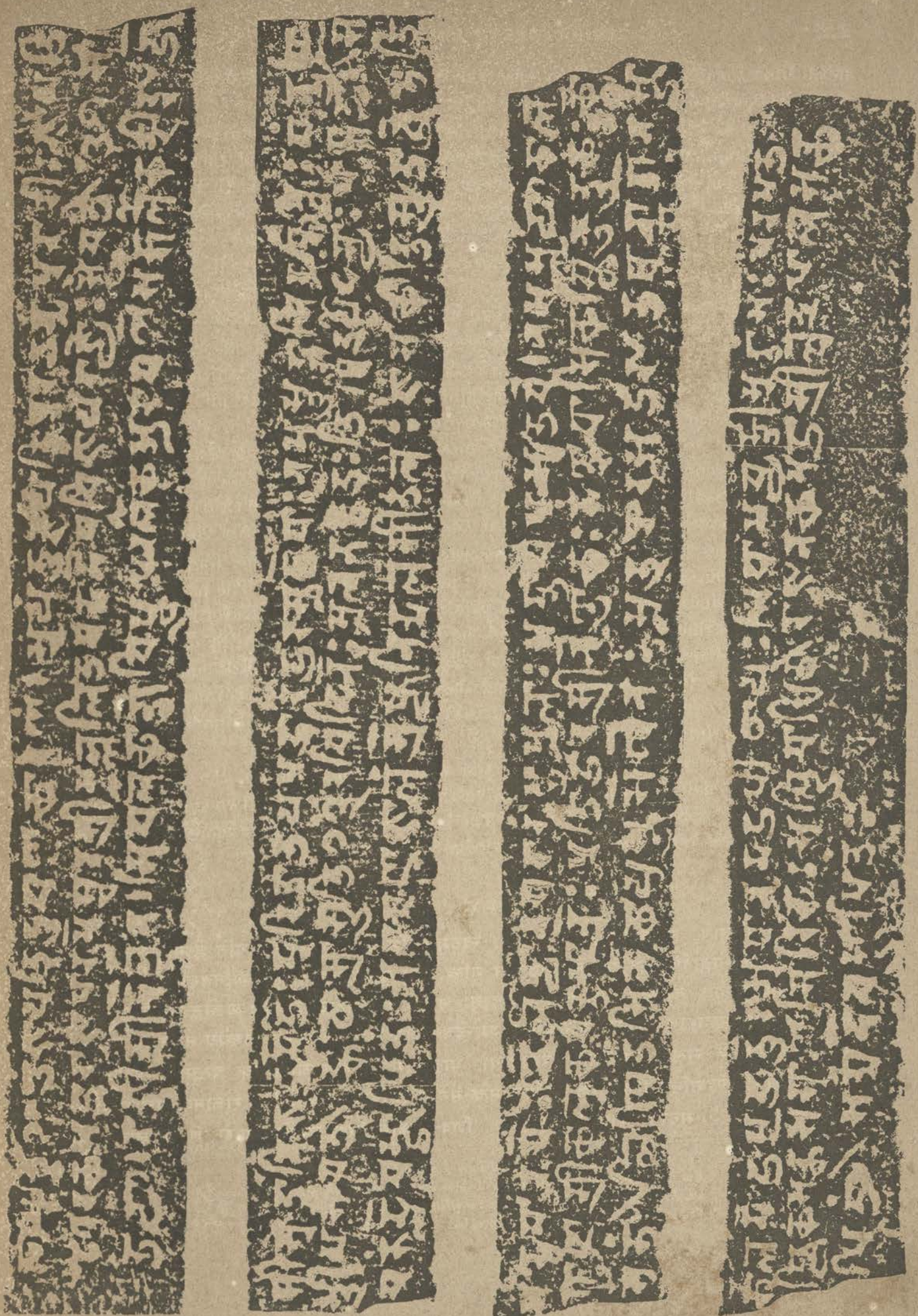
ओं स्वस्ति: । ओं जयति भुवण-कारणं । स्वयंभुर्जयति पुरनन्द-पुरारी: जयति शोसुता-निरुद्ध देहो: दुरिताभय-पहारो हरश्च देवा: नमस्तुङ्गशिर-शम्बि: चंन्द्र-चामर-चारवे: चैलोक्यानगरा-रंभ-मूल: [स्त] भामप शभवे । नमस्यायाकाल कालदेहमहातु: अपान-दह-पीठाय: सिवाम व्यक्तीसुत्तस: परम-भ (l. 2) टारक-महाराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमल्ललित-वर्म-देव-विजय-राज्ये: संवत् २७ शास्त्रोय-संवत् ४६ आ शु ति १३ रविदिने: मूल-नक्षत्रे: तिथि त्रयोदश्यां: पाङ्क्त्याम्[4] शेगाण-श्रीकालुक वर्तमाने: प्रति-हार-श्रीनेणुक: दंण्डवासिक स्क्किकुतुक: कोष्ठिक-सल्क-सेगाण-शिरिक: सल्हि-वासित् राजानक-महाश्री-लुद्रपाल-सल्क-(l. 3) मर्या । राज्ञी-श्री-देल्हेन । शिव-लोकार्थं विष्णु-परलोक-आरधाणे सर्गलोक-

[1] The date has been fully discussed above, pp. 74 f.

[2] For a discussion of the functions of these officials *cf.* above, pp. 134 f.

[3] Cf. J. H. Marshall, *Note on archæological work in Kashmir*, p. 18.

[4] The last two *akṣaras* are indistinct, but *cf.* No. 42, l. 12.



Sāhni Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0·50

क्रीडार्थें[1] वरुण[2]-देव स्थापितः सरावण-जलं श्रेष्ठ-निर्मल-शीतलः जश-कीर्ति-शुतार्थे इति शुभम् लिखितमिदं कायस्थ-सेखेनः सूत्रधार-सहजा तथा गगेन स्थापितंम् सत्यमेव स्थापितः

CORRECTED READING.

श्रीं स्वस्तिः। श्रीं जयति भुवन-कारणं स्वयंभूर्जयति पुरन्दर-नन्दनो मुरारिः। जयति गिरि-सुता-निरुद्ध-देहो दुरित-भयापहरो हरश्च देवः॥ नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बि-चन्द्र-चामर-चारवे। त्रैलोक्य-नगरारम्भ-मूल-स्तम्भाय शम्भवे॥ नमस्तस्मै कलाधत्तें काल-देह-प्रहारिणे। अपानदेश-पीठाय शिवाय व्यक्ति-सूतये॥ परमभ-(l. 2) ट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमल्ललितवर्म[3]-देव-विजय-राज्ये संवत् २७ शास्त्रोय-संवत् ४६ श्रा. शु. ति. १३ रविदिने मूल-नक्षत्रे तिथौ त्रयोदश्यां पाङ्क्त्यां शेगाण-श्री-कालुके वर्तमाने प्रतीहार-श्री-नेणुके[3] दण्डवासिक-श्री-कुतुके कोष्ठिक-सल्क-सेगाण-शिरिके[4] साल्ही-वासि-राजानक-महाश्री-लुद्रपाल-सल्क-(l. 3) भार्यया राज्ञी-श्री-देल्हया[5] शिवलोकार्थं विष्णु-परलोकाराधनाय स्वर्ग-लोक-क्रीडार्थं वरुण-देवः स्थापितः। सवण-जलं श्रेष्ठ-निर्मल-शीतलं यशः-[6] कीर्ति-शुभार्थं। इति शुभम्। लिखितमिदं कायस्थ-सेखेन। सूत्रधार-सहजेन तथा गग्गेन[7] स्थापितम्। सत्यमेव स्थापितम्॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Victorious is the Cause of the world, the Self-existent (Brahmā). Victorious is the son of the Destroyer of castles (Śiva or Indra), the enemy of Mura (Kṛṣṇa). Victorious is He whose body is held by the Mountain-daughter (Durgā), He who removes distress and danger—Hara, the god.

Reverence to Śambhu (Śiva) the beautiful, whose lofty head is touched (*lit.* kissed) by the moon as by a chowrie, [and] who is the beginning, the root and the support of the town of the Universe.

Reverence to Him, the Crescent-carrier, who strikes the body of Kāla [and] whose seat is the region of Apāna[8]—Śiva, the creator of the manifested world.

In the year 27 in the reign of victory of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Lalita-varman of divine descent, in the Śāstra year 46, [the month of] Śrāvaṇa, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 13, on Sunday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Mūla, on the thirteenth lunar day—when in Pāṅgatī there was the *Śegāṇa* the illustrious Kālu(ka); the *pratīhāra*, the illustrious Neṇu(ka); the *daṇḍavāsika* the illustrious Kutu(ka); and *Segāṇa* Śiri(ka) in charge of the Kōṭhī—[at that time] the wife of the Rāṇā, the very illustrious Ludra-pāla of Sālhī, the queen, the illustrious Delhā has erected a fountain-slab (*lit.* Varuṇa-deva) for the sake of Śiva's heaven, in order to gain the other heaven of Viṣṇu [and] for the sake of the joy of Paradise.

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[1] The *akṣara* which I read *krī* has apparently both the *ī* and the *r̥* vowel signs.

[2] The *ṇ* is written under the line.

[3] Perhaps *Leṇuka* is to be read; the first syllable is doubtful.

[4] As all the proper names in this passage except *Sirika* are preceded by the word *Śrī*, it is probable that the syllable *cchi* is also to be read as such.

[5] I presume that *Delhā* is the true form of the name (*cf.* above, p. 210 *Balhā*) which erroneously was provided with the instrumental termination of the masculine.

[6] The form *jaśa* is due to vernacular influence.

[7] Perhaps *Guggena* is to be read. Cf. above, p. 138.

[8] *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* are the two breath currents in the human body according to the Yoga system.

[This] flowing water [is] excellent, pure and cool [and] causes glory, fame and grace. Thus may it be blessed. This is written by the writer of legal documents Sekha. It was set up by the stone-mason Sahaja and by Gagga—truly set up.

No. 34.—MŪL-KIHĀR FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXIII.)

At a distance of about 3 miles to the north-west of Ḍyūhr (map Duire), the headquarters of the *pargaṇā* of the same name, lies the hamlet of Mūl-Kihār. The name seems to indicate that it was originally the chief place of the Kihār *pargaṇā*. The present Kihār *kōṭhī* is situated some 4 or 5 miles further to the west at the village of Digi. On a spur above the village of Mūl-Kihār there are the remnants of ancient walls which evidently once belonged to a building of considerable size. Local tradition holds that this was the site of a Rāṇā's castle,[1] and the inscription presently to be discussed leaves no doubt as to the correctness of this tradition.

On the site I found a defaced piece of sculpture, 1′ 9″ high and 1′ 3″ wide, representing a goddess standing between two female attendants. Each of these figures wears the usual ornaments and is placed on a conventional lotus. The central one shown in a dancing posture, is four-armed. Two arms seem to swing a snake over its head, the other two are in front of the body, but the attributes which they once held are lost. The two attendants, of somewhat smaller size and in the usual contorted posture, were presumably provided with fly-whisks (Skr. *cāmara*). The attendant to the left of the main figure with her right hand raised above the head has the typical attitude of a *chowrie* bearer. The two pilasters shown at the sides of the figures, indicate that these were supposed to be enshrined in a chapel. It is not clear what architectural member these pilasters are supporting, as the upper portion of the sculpture is totally effaced. The cusped arch, partly preserved at the back and over the heads of the figures, seems to be developed from a trefoil halo.

A more important relic of the past is a ruined fountain at the side of the Ḍyūhr-Kihār road in the immediate proximity of the site just noticed. The destruction of this cistern is locally ascribed to the Basōhlī people. In the reign of Rāj Siṅgh, about A.D. 1774, Chambā was invaded by the Basōhlī Rājā Amṛt Pāl at the instigation of Raṇjīt Dēv of Jammū. Rāj Siṅgh repelled the invader with the assistance of the Rāmgaṛhiā Sardārs and in his turn invaded and conquered Basōhlī in A.D. 1782. Again in the reign of his son and successor Jīt Siṅgh bands of Basōhlī troops made inroads in Chambā territory under their chief Bijai Pāl.[2] In A.D. 1800, the Chambā Rājā retaliated by invading and conquering Basōhlī. The traveller George Forster who travelled through Basōhli territory in April 1783 gives a graphic account of the destruction caused by the invasion of Rāj Siṅgh of Chambā.[3]

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[1] The name of the last Rāṇā of Mūl-Kihār is said to have been Gulāb Siṅgh and that of his *Rāṇī* Kanaṇī. I am told that one of his descendants, Mahtāb Siṅgh by name, still lives at Bhadravāh.

[2] Cf. *Chambā Gazetteer*, pp. 99 ff. The date of the copper-plate referred to in the footnote is Vikrama 1831, Śaka 1696, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, Vṛṣa pra. 15 corresponding to Wednesday the 25th May, A.D. 1774.

[3] Forster, *Journey*, Vol. I, pp. 270 f.

Fig. 26. Ruined fountain at Mūl-Kihār.

The Mūl-Kihār cistern is of a type entirely different from that of the ordinary *paṇhiyārs* in which the large back-slab with its carvings and inscriptions is the most striking feature. In the present instance we find only a curiously sculptured water-spout, the mouth of which seems to represent the head of some phantastical animal, perhaps meant for a *makara*. Some more carved stones of considerable size are found on the spot, but their original position cannot now be ascertained.

The inscription which contains the record of the foundation of this cistern is carved on a large slab (2′ 5″ by 1′ 10″ by 11″) which is no longer *in situ*. It has shared the fate of the monument to which it belonged and is now in a deplorable state of mutilation. The inscribed surface is 2′ in width by 1′ 6″ in height; but a large portion of the epigraph has disappeared with the proper left end of the stone. The missing part of the inscribed surface has the shape of a rectangular triangle, the hypotenuse being marked by the fractured edge. The upper lines have suffered the greatest loss, probably some twenty-two syllables each, whilst at the end of the lower lines of the inscription only a few *akṣaras* seem to be missing. Of the remainder most of the letters along the top and proper right side of the stone are entirely effaced; the surface has peeled off in places, especially in the lower portion of the record, and everywhere separate letters are found damaged or destroyed.

The mutilation of this inscription is the more to be regretted, as evidently it was a document of considerable interest, both historical and literary. It seems to have consisted of twenty-six lines and to have contained no less than thirty-one stanzas of very fine Sanskrit poetry, composed in a great variety of metres. The metres used are *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in verse 2; *Rathoddhatā* in verses 3, 4 and 15;

Vasantatilaka in verses 5, 10, 12, 13, 18, and 27; *Mālinī* in verses 6 and 16; *An-uṣṭubh* in verses 7 (?), 9, 14, 20-24, 26 (?), and 29; *Upajāti* in verses 8, 19 and 30; *Mandākrāntā* in verse 11; *Śikhariṇī* in verses 17 and 25 and *Drutavilambita*(?) in verse 28. At present not a single verse is entire, but a few can be conjecturally restored. Enough remains to make out the chief contents of the inscription. It may be divided into three parts. The first part consists of benedictory stanzas and invocations to various deities; the second part contains the genealogy of the local Rāṇā to whose piety the fountain owed its origin, and the final portion gives an account of the pious foundation itself.

Let us now attempt, as far as the fragmentary state of the document allows, to consider its contents more in detail. The first stanza, apparently preceded by the usual *maṅgala* in prose, is almost entirely destroyed. Presumably it contained, like the following stanzas, an invocation to some deity, perhaps Varuṇa, the god of the waters, who, as we have had frequent occasion to notice, takes a prominent place both in the carvings and inscriptions on monuments of this kind. Of the second stanza the concluding portion is still legible; it ends with the name of Śiva whose protection it was apparently meant to implore. The third stanza had evidently a similar purport, but the name of the deity invoked is lost. Stanzas 4 to 6 are addressed to Kāma (Madana) the god of love, to the Sun-god Sūrya, here called Taraṇi, and to Śiva's son Kumāra or Kārttikeya, the god of war. The seventh verse begins with the word *śreyaḥ*, from which we may infer that, like the preceding six stanzas, it was intended to secure the blessing of some deity.

The second genealogical portion of the inscription is on the whole somewhat better preserved than the beginning and concluding parts, but unfortunately most of the names are lost. Of the first of the Rāṇā's ancestors, mentioned in verse 8, the name certainly ended in *-pāla(ka)*; the first member of the name is perhaps *gaya*. He bears the title of *Rājānaka*, i.e. *Rāṇā* and is said to belong to the house (*gotra*) of the *muni* Kāśyapa.[1] In stanzas 9 and 10 it is related that he married, and a child was born to him, but the names of both his wife and his son are lost. In the next two verses (11-12) this son marries in his turn and begets a son whose name is likewise missing. This grandson of Rāṇā Gaya-pāla marries a lady, Śūramati by name, who is praised for her generosity (verse 13). Several sons are born by her, the names of the eldest being Śyāmalu, Lakṣmaṇa, Golhaṇa and Chinnu[2] (verse 14), and also a daughter Bhappikā whose beauty is described in an elegant line of poetry (verse 15). The following passage (verses 16-18) consists of an account of the death of Śūramati and of the lamentations of her relatives, told in exquisite language. Verses 19-24 eulogize the water, which quenches the fire of grief and allays even the torments of hell. These stanzas, all composed in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, seem to be a quotation, as may also be inferred from the following *Iti śrutvā*, but I have not been able to ascertain from what work they are borrowed.

The concluding portion of the inscription relates, how a cistern of clear water was constructed, evidently in memory of the deceased Śūramati. In verse 25 the founder is named Goga, but it is not apparent whether her husband is indicated by

[1] Cf. Ibbetson, *Outline of Punjab Ethnography*, § 421.

[2] The female personal name *Chinnā* occurs in the Baijnāth *praśasti*, I, 27.

this name or one of her sons. In the latter case Goga might be a pet-name for Golhaṇa mentioned in verse 4. It seems, however, more natural that it was the husband of the deceased lady who had the fountain made. The whole passage is too much mutilated to allow us to arrive at any definite conclusion. So much is certain that in verse 30 the date of the inscription is expressed in the regnal year of some Rājā of Chambā, whose name I propose to read Vijayeśvara. Unfortunately the first syllable is lost, and the second uncertain. If my conjecture is correct, "the lord Vijaya" of our inscription may be identified with Vijaya-varman, who in the *Vaṁśāvalī* (śl. 85) figures as the son and successor of Lalita-varman. As we know that the latter became Rājā in A.D. 1143 and was still ruling in 1170, the date of Vijaya-varman's reign must fall about the end of the 12th century. This conclusion well agrees with the palæographical evidence afforded by the Mūl-Kihār inscription. It follows, moreover, from verse 30 that the Rāṇās of Mūl-Kihār owed allegiance to the Rājās of Chambā.

Another point of considerable interest is whether Rājānaka Gaya-pāla mentioned in verse 8 of our inscription can be the same person as the Ṭhakkura Gaya-pāla who, according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII, 548-9) collected a force to restore the pretender, Bhikṣācara, to the throne of Kaśmīr, but was treacherously murdered by his own relatives before he could give effect to his design. Chronologically the identification might well be maintained. The Gaya-pāla of the Kaśmīr Chronicle lived in the reign of Jāsaṭa of Chambā, at whose court Bhikṣācara found a refuge for several years. We saw that the Rāṇā who founded the Mūl-Kihār cistern lived at the time of Vijaya-varman, *i.e.*, about the last quarter of the 12th century. His grandfather may, therefore, quite well have been a contemporary of Jāsaṭa who ruled in Chambā in the first quarter of that century.

On the other hand, it would seem from the wording of Kalhaṇa's account that his Ṭhakkura Gaya-pāla was a feudatory of Padmaka, the Rājā of Vallāpura, whose daughter Bhikṣācara married. This, however, is not a very serious objection. We can hardly expect absolute accuracy in a narrative of events which happened at a considerable distance from Kaśmīr. Gaya-pāla the Rānā of Mūl-Kihār was most probably, like his grandson, a vassal of the Rājā of Chambā, but his castle stood almost on the border of Vallāpura territory and he could, therefore, conveniently collect the troops from both States. For it should be remembered that Jāsaṭa of Chambā lent support to his kinsman Bhikṣācara, like his neighbour Padmaka of Vallāpura.

So far, therefore, the identification seems plausible enough, but it may be well to emphasize the fact that the reading of the name in the inscription is itself problematical. Only the last member of the compound is certain, and this unfortunately was the common cognomen of many royal and noble families of the period. The first part of the name must indeed have consisted of two short syllables, the first of which is still extant in outline and can hardly be anything but *ga*. The little that remains of the second *akṣara* permits of its being read as *ya*, but this reading must of necessity be regarded as conjectural.

As far as the fragmentary state of the inscription allows us to judge, the record is composed in very pure and grammatically correct Sanskrit. The only error

occurring in the preserved portion is the substitution of *ṛ* for *ri* in *tṛdaśapati-vadhūnāṁ* (verse 16), a mistake of which we have met with instances elsewhere[1] and which is evidently due to the pronunciation of *ṛ sonans* as *ri*. The author of the Mūl-Kihār inscription was not only a scholar, but a true poet whose good taste prevented him from indulging in the bombastic phraseology which so often disfigures the classical literature of India. His language is simple, and the rhetorical figures of speech are applied in such proportion as not to obscure but to elucidate the sense of each verse. The similes, if not original, are well chosen. If we compare verse 15, in which the charms of Śūramati's daughter are lauded, with numerous passages in Indian poetry devoted to the praise of female beauty—of which our Sarāhaṇ *praśasti* (No. 13) affords a good example—we cannot but admire the chaste moderation of the writer.

TEXT.

[श्रीं स्व]स्ति: । श्रीं नम — — — — — —

(l. 2) [सं]ग्रार्थं शरणागतस्य नृपतेर्य — — ◡ — — ◡ —

— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —

— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —

(l. 3) — — [वैरि-]सुहृज्जनेषु सफल-क्रोध-प्रसा[द]श्चिव: २

— ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — न धारय[त्य] ◡ हार-हिम-गौर-[सु]द्युत: ।

— ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ३

(l. 4) [वन्दया]मि मदनं जगत्पते र्येन दग्ध-वपुषापि शूलि[न: ।]

— ◡ का[न्ति]हरताम ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ वशीकृ[तं मन: ४]

— — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ —(l. 5)◡ ◡ ◡

— ◡ ◡ मातरिश्व

[कल्पा]ण-भूत-दु[रि]तेन्धन-वीतिहोत्रस्संसा [र-सिन्धु-] तरणिस्तरणि× क्रियाद्द: ५

कुलिश- ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ (l. 6) —

— — — ◡ — — स्तनीनाम् [।*]

विजित-विषय-भोगै-यत्न-वैफल्यमापुस्स जयति [रिपुवर्ग] ब्रह्मचारी कुमार: ६

श्रेयो — — — — — — — — — — — (l. 7) — — — — — — —[७]

गोत्रे भवत्काश्यप-संज्ञकस्य महामुने [गा]ह ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ।

[रा]जानकश् श्री-[गय]पालकाख्य ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ८]

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ (l. 8) सी ◡ ◡ ◡ ण ◡ — प्रियो ।

यथार्थ-नामा श्वशुर-पितृ-पद्मोदय-प्रदा ९ ।

तस्यामजायत सुतश् शुभ-कर्मणो स्य — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — ।

— — ◡ —(l. 9) ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [च्च]त्र-प्रवीरमिह भूमिभृतां

समूह: १०

[1] Cf. No. 9, l. 2, *āśṛtya* for *āśritya* and No. 15, l. 24, *āśṛta* for *āśrita*.

तस्याप्यासीद्दृढगुण-गणा-लङ्कृता धर्मपत्नी

— — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —

(l. 10) यस्याश् श्रुत्वा विनय- [यशसं] तत्यजुस् सा[न]सूयास्

सो[म]न्तिन्यो धरणि-वलये रूप-सौभाग्यमग्रम् ११

तस्याम[जायत] ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —

— — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — (l. 11) ◡ ◡ — भवन्ति

— — ◡ ल✕ परमुपेयमि[हस्त]नोनां

मार-व्यथानु[भ]व-भाञ्जि शरीरकाणि १२

तस्यास्ति शूरमतिरित्यमल-[स्वभावा] [पत्नी] ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —।

(l. 12) — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ यो ◡ यज्ञा यज्ञार्त्त-दत्त-वसुधान्न- हिरण्य-

वस्त्रा । १३

श्यामलु-लक्ष्मण-गोल्हण-क्षित्नु-प्रमुखास् स ◡ —।

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ — — ⏑ [आत्म] (l. 13) [जा✕ प्रसुतास्तया। १४]

कुन्द-कुड्मल-दती सुमध्यमा फुल्ल-पङ्कज-मुखो पिक-स्वरा।

नील-नीरज-समान-लोचना भप्पिकेत्यभवद[स्य चात्मजा।१५]

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — (l. 14) ◡ — [सा प्रयाता] तृ(चि)दशपति-वधूनां

रूप-सौभाग्य-वृत्तिं।

नियतमव [निमासाशा] परित्यज्य जेतुं विजित-मनुज-लोका स्वर्ग-भूमि[मवाप। १६]

◡ — — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ (l. 15) ◡ — न प्रणयिता न सत्यं नो — — न

च मधुर-वाक्यामृत-रसः।

खलस्यैतच्चित्ते निवसति [क]दा चिद्दत विधे [र्यथा] दुष्टादुष्टान्नयति सम-वृ[त्त्या यम-पुरीम्। १७]

— — ◡ —(l. 16)◡ ◡ ◡ — नयनाभिरामामुत्सङ्गगां प्रियतमां जनताभिनन्द्याम्।

भर्त्तुर्व्ययूयुजदिमां विषम✕ कृतान्त✕ पर्वात्ययश् शशिकलामिव [धर्मरश्मेः। १८]

⏑ — ◡ — —(l. 17) ◡ ◡ — ◡ वो ग्निस् समान-दु✕ खानुज-दु✕ ख-भीरोः।

तद्रोदनाभस्मृति-सिच्यमानश् शनैश् शशाम प्रिय-[बा] ष्पवस्य । १९

जलं हि जीवितं लोके जलमात्मा जलं व[यः।]

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ — — ◡ (l. 18)⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ व नाचिका। २०

मू [र्छा-श्र]म-परीतानां शोकार्तानां विदाहिनाम्।

तो ⏑ काम ◡ — — ◡ ज्वलन-प्लुष्ट-चेतसाम्। २१

वियोगिनां रागिनां ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ — ◡ —।

(l. 19) ⏑ ⏑ [महा-]रौरवश्च महापद्मश्च रौरवः [२]२

तप्तवालु [क-सं] ज्ञश्च ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ — ◡ —।

[सत्त्वस्य] तस्य किं कुर्युर्मनोन्तर्यस्य शीतलम् २३

श्र ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ — — ⏑ (l. 20) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ◡ येन ता।

येन दत्तेन तृप्यन्ति [सद्यो] लोकास् सनातनाः २४

इति श्रु[त्वा] — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ —

[स्व]मुद्दिश्या[नन्दं] पितरमिह गोगी स्य त[नयो।]

◡ — — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡(l. 21)◡ ◡ — [स्वच्छ]-सलिलं

व्यधात्तोयाधारं सुर-नर-पितृ- प्रीति-जननम् २[५]

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ मलग्नू ⏑ —।

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ण ⏑ य सिर पद्म ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ (l. 22) — ⏑ — २६[1]

तस्यात्मजेन पितृ-[वाक्यमिव] व्यधायि तोयाशयो यमि ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

यं वीक्ष्य वीक्ष्य ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

सृष्टि ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ (l. 23) — ⏑ — — २७

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ कान्वय-नन्दना म[हत्त]रः [प्र]तिपा[ल]यति क्षितिम्

अज ⏑ — ⏑ मुहा ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —२८[2]

(l. 24) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [विनिर्मितः २९]

संवत्सरे चम्पक-नामधेय-पुरो-पते[रर्क]-कुलोद्भवस्य।

— — ⏑ — — [वि]जयेश्व [रस्य](l. 25) ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑३०

— — — त्त रणज्ञो विबुध-हृत्पटनोल्लसच्छ—द — — —

TRANSLATION.[3]

Hail! Adoration . . . . . .

1. [Lost.]

2 Śiva whose wrath and favour bear fruit with his *foes and* friends [*may he protect you*] . . .

3. He whose splendour is white like snow—may he keep (you) . . .

4. I *praise* Madana (*i.e.* Kāma) who, though his body was reduced to ashes, ... subdued the heart of the Trident-holder (*i.e.* Śiva) . . . . . .

5. Taraṇi (*i.e.* Sūrya) . . . . . in whose fire the misfortune of the *righteous* [*is consumed*] like fuel, he who is a boat on the *ocean of* existence, may he render you [*happy*].

6. The chaste Kumāra (*i.e.*, Kārttikeya) conquers *the host of enemies.* . . . . . .

7. [Lost.]

8. In the house of the great Sage whose name is Kāśyapa was born the Rājānaka called the illustrious *Gaya*pālaka . . . . . .

9. [*He married a lady*] . . . . . who was appropriately so named and who secured success to the factions of her father-in-law and her father.

10. To him of noble deeds was born by her a son . . . . . whom here the multitude of princes [*praised*] as the champion of knighthood.

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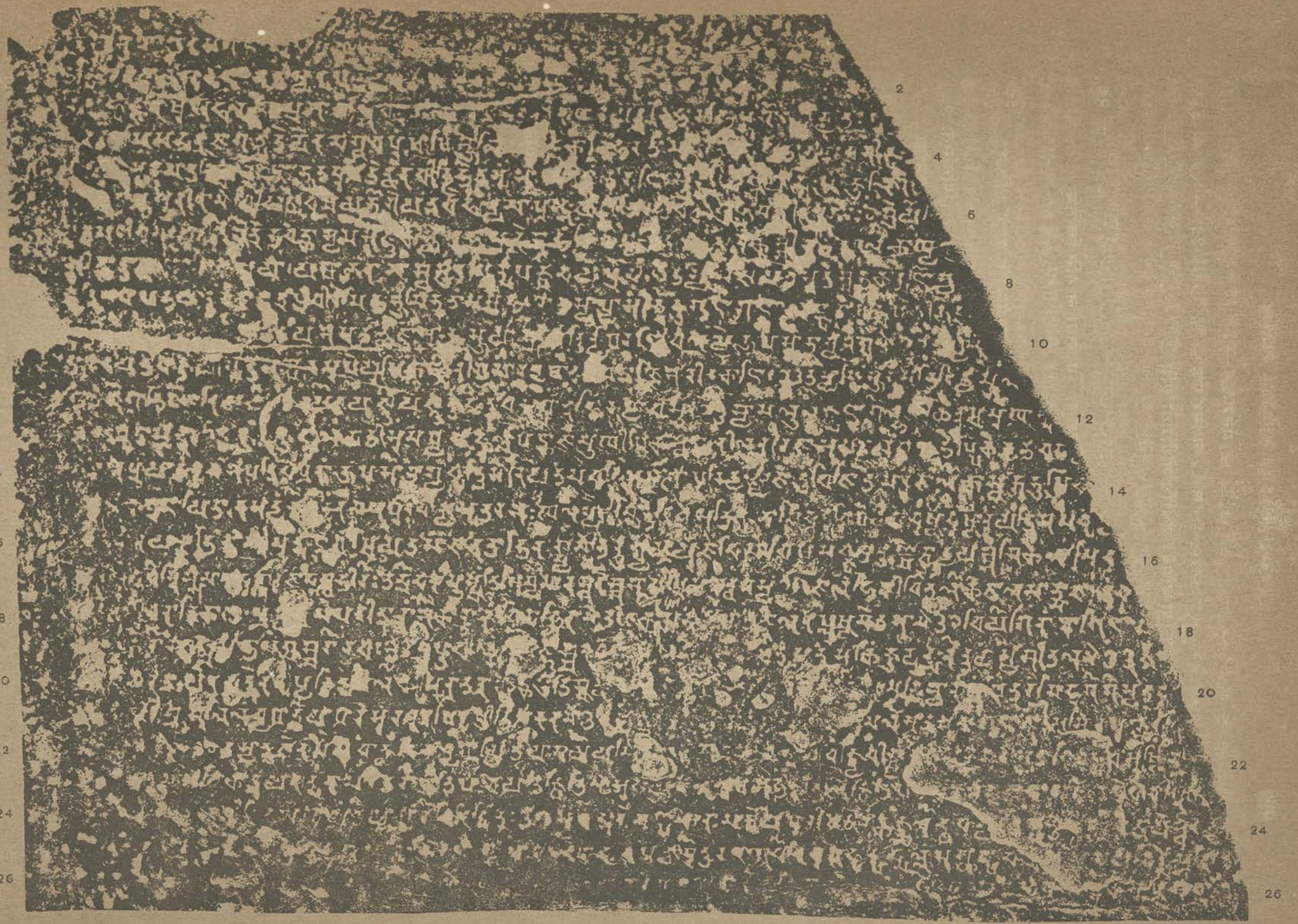
[1] The metre is uncertain. Judging from the space occupied by this verse, it seems to have been an *Anuṣṭubh.*

[2] The metre is uncertain. We have apparently a *pāda* in the *Drutavilambita* metre, but some of the *akṣaras* are lost.

[3] Conjectural words are shown in italics. Words which are incoherent have been left untranslated.

Mūl-kihār Fountain Inscription.



SCALE 0·40

PLATE XXXIII.

11. He also had a lawful wife adorned with a multitude of virtues . . . . . *at the report of whose fame* the fair ones within the circle of the earth yielded without complaint the utmost charm of their beauty.

12. By her [*was born a son*] . . . . . [*at the sight of whom*] the bodies of the fair ones, feeling the pangs of Love, [*attained*] their highest aim.

13. His [*spouse*] is Śūramati of spotless *nature* . . . . . who bestowed land, food, gold and clothes at sacrifices and on the afflicted.

14. She bore [*him several*] sons of whom the elder were Śyāmalu, Lakṣmaṇa, Golhaṇa and Chinnu . . . . . .

15. *He* had *also a daughter*, Bhappikā by name, with teeth like jasmine buds, a slender waist, a face like a full-blown lotus, the voice of a cuckoo and eyes resembling dark-blue water-lilies.

16. *She* (*Śūramati?*) . . . . . *passed away*. Certainly, *having attained her wish* and conquered the world of men, she left the earth and reached the abode of heaven, to transcend in beauty, loveliness and manners the women of the Chief of the gods.[1]

17. . . . . neither affection, nor faithfulness, nor . . . . . , nor the nectar-juice of sweet words—alas! [none of these things] ever dwells in the mind of Fate, that churl, who leads the righteous and unrighteous in the same *manner to Yama's town*.[2]

18. . . . . thus hostile Fate separated her—his most beloved, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes, praised by all mankind—from her husband, even as the passing of the *parvan* [separates] the Moon-sickle from the *hot-rayed* [*Sun*].[3]

19. . . . . the fire [of grief] of her dear relation . . . . . was slowly allayed besprinkled with the stream of the water of his eyes.

20. For water is life in [this] world, water is breath, water is strength . . . . . .

21. Of those who are overcome by faintness or fatigue, who are afflicted with grief or burning . . . . . of those whose mind is singed by the fire . . . . . .

22. Of lovers separated . . . . . [the hells] Mahāraurava, Mahāpadma and Raurava—

---

[1] The Lord of the gods (*Devendra*) is Indra the thundergod. His celestial abode is inhabited by the Gandharvas and Apsaras. Śūramati, the poet supposes, left the world to outshine the beauty of these heavenly nymphs in Indra's Paradise.

[2] Yama is the Indian Hades; he is the god of death and the lord of the lower regions.

[3] The *parvans* are the changes of the moon. Here the New Moon is meant, when the sun and the moon are in conjunction. When the *parvan* of the New Moon passes, they become separated. The same simile occurs in the *Raghuvaṁśa* 7, 30.

तिमुस्त्रिलोकीप्रथितेन सार्धमजेन मार्गे वसतीरुषित्वा ।
तस्मादपावर्तत भोजनाथः पर्वात्यये सोम इवोष्णरश्मेः ॥

23. And the one called Taptavāluka (Burning Sand) . . . . . , what would they do to that *being* whose mind inside is cool.

24. . . . . with the gift of which the eternal world becomes at once satisfied.

25. When he had thus understood . . . . . and exhorted *Ānanda his* father, Goga his *son* . . . . . made this cistern of *very pure* water which causes joy to gods, men and ancestral spirits.

26. [Lost.]

27. By his son this cistern was made here like the word of his father . . . . . at the sight of which . . . . . .

28. . . . . [his] sons with their offspring. The *chief* protects the land . . . . . .

29. Constructed by . . . . . .

30. In the . . year [of the reign] of Prince Vijaya the scion of the Solar Race and lord of the town named Caṇpaka . . . . . .

31. . . . . gleaming in the lotus-like heart of the wise . . . . . .

No. 35.—SAI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF AJAYA-PĀLA; ŚĀSTRA 1 (A.D. 1225?) OR KALI 4270 (A.D. 1169?).

(PLATES XXXIV AND XXXV.)

Sai is the head-quarters of the *parganā* of the same name which belongs to the Curāh *wazārat*. Near a fountain below the village there stands a carved stone of considerable size (3′ 6″ high; 4′ 6″ wide). In its centre is a square hole (9″×9½″) which once must have contained a water-spout. The spring apparently has changed its course. There are still two water-spouts with carved mouths beneath the fountain-slab, but these also have become dry.

Immediately over the square opening we notice a *liṅga* placed on a stand of the ordinary type. The symbol of procreation is being worshipped by two figures placed on either side of it. The one to its proper right is a bearded male figure seated cross-legged on an ornamental cushion, and holding a censer in his right and a bell in his left hand. Between him and the *liṅga* there is a vessel presumably intended for offerings (Hindī *bhōg*). From an inscription placed immediately over this figure, it appears that it represents *Rāṇautra* Phāhi,[1] the person for whose sake the fountain-stone was erected. The figure on the other side is a female standing on a kind of stool. Round her head is a halo of trefoil shape. She wears a diadem from which a scarf (H. *dupaṭṭā*) floats down over both her shoulders, and also an ornamental petticoat. The upper part of her body is nude; her breasts are broken and her face slightly injured. Presumably this figure also was marked with an inscription; but the surface of the stone above it has peeled off. From its position we may presume that it represents the wife of Rāṇautra Phāhi. In her right hand she holds a fly-whisk (Skr. *cāmara*; H. *caũrī*, *caurī*; Anglo-Indice *chowrie*); with

[1] It is doubtful whether the first *akṣara* is to be read *phā* or *ḍhā*. The rounded shape of the letter leads me to assume that it is more probably *phā* though the curve of *pha* usually ends in a loop. For instances see above, p. 55.

her left hand she grasps the scarf of another female figure somewhat larger in size which stands behind her and is labelled: Dāi Nāgiḥ. This personage wears the same kind of dress, though differing in design. She holds a water-vessel in her left hand; the right hand which is empty shows the attitude known in Indian iconography as the "gift-bestowing" (Skr. *vara-mudrā*). Beneath these two female figures we notice the effigy of a fish. The other end of the slab is occupied by a figure similar to the one last-described, but holding in each hand a lotus-flower. The inscription over this figure is destroyed except the last letter which is *la*. Beneath it is a quaint looking animal, presumably meant to represent a tortoise. There can be little doubt that in these two figures we may recognize the portraits of two ladies belonging to the household of *Rāṇautra* Phāhi, for one of them is distinctly marked as *dāī*, *i.e.* nurse. We know that even at the Mughal court the wetnurse of the heir-apparent had the title *dāī* and was a lady of distinction. In Chambā we have the example of Dāī Baṭlō, the wetnurse of Rājā Pṛthvī Siṅgh, who, according to popular tradition, saved the life of her nursling from the hands of Jagat Siṅgh of Nūrpur. She was the founder of two temples and the donor of gifts of land, the title-deeds of which are still extant among our copper-plates.[1] Thus it can be no matter of surprise that the nurse of *Rāṇautra* Phāhi was considered worthy of being portrayed on the stone. It is curious that the sculptor, in rendering this and the corresponding figure, evidently copied the river-goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, commonly found on similar fountain-slabs. Invariably these Naiads are shown with a water-vessel in one hand and a lotus-flower in the other, and we notice that each of our two figures has preserved one of these attributes. Besides, the two animals beneath are clearly derived from the crocodile and the tortoise which are the vehicles of those two river-goddesses.

It is well known that Gaṅgā and Yamunā are regularly represented on both sides of the entrance of ancient temples. They are distinguished by their *vāhanas*—the crocodile and the tortoise. Some noticeable instances are the temples of Mārtāṇḍ in Kaśmīr, of Nūrpur and Baijnāth in Kāṅgṛā and of Bajaurā in Kuḷū.[2] And it is the same not only in the Western Himālaya but all over Northern India. But temples of a later period when the meaning of these figures was no longer understood often show those animals metamorphosed; the crocodile becomes a fish, the tortoise assumes the appearance of a goose. Such a development was not only favoured by the highly ornamental character which already at an earlier date the figures of the two animals had assumed, but seems the more natural in a region where both the crocodile and the tortoise are equally unknown.

Whereas the lower portion of the slab is thus reserved for mortals, we find the upper part occupied by beings of a higher order. Of the row of five deities, seated cross-legged and separated by pilasters, the central one, according to its inscription, is Varuṇa, the god of the waters, in whose honour the fountain-slab was erected. He has four arms which support a *makara*-staff and a rosary (Skr. *akṣamālā*) on the right, and a snake and a water-vessel on the left.

[1] Cf. above, pp. 19 and 36, and *Gazetteer*, p. 93.

[2] Cf. Cole, *Ancient buildings in Kashmir*, pl. 16-18, *A. R. A. S.* for 1904-05, p. 118, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, pp. 106 and 111 (l. 29), and Harcourt, *Kooloo*, pp. 350 f.

The deity to the right of the central figure is likewise four-armed. His right hands hold a trident and a rosary. Of the left hands one holds a conch-shell, and the other is broken. Unfortunately the name of this figure, which was inscribed on the pilaster to its right, is lost. As the sculptor has allowde himself so much license in iconographical matters, it would be risky to identify this figure from its attributes. The trident would suggest Śiva, but we shall presently meet him under another name on the opposite side of the row.

The figure at the proper right end has its name, Baudha, marked on the corner pilaster at its side. As Baudha is the same as Budha,[1] the personage represented here would be the Planet Mercury. But from its appearance it seems that the sculptor has confused Budha with Buddha. The figure is seated cross-legged, with the hands joined in front of the breast. The hair is bound up in a knot on the top of the head. It thus bears, in reality, the appearance of a representation of the Śākya-Sage in the attitude of expounding the law (Skr. *dharmacakra-mudrā*).

We should have some difficulty in recognizing Brahmā in the figure to the left of Varuṇa, were it not clearly indicated as such by the inscription over its head. The figure is bearded, but has not the four faces which characterize the Creator of the four Vedas. He is four-armed, but his attributes are indistinct. The lower right hand seems to hold a rosary. In the somewhat phantastical animal beneath we must recognize a goose, the vehicle of Brahmā.

The last figure of the row it would have been still harder to identify, but for the inscription over its head which reads *Dhyāna-Maheśvara*, leaving no doubt that the deity represented here is Śiva, in the period of his asceticism. He is seated cross-legged, the hands placed in the lap in that position which expresses meditation (Skr. *dhyāna-mudrā*).

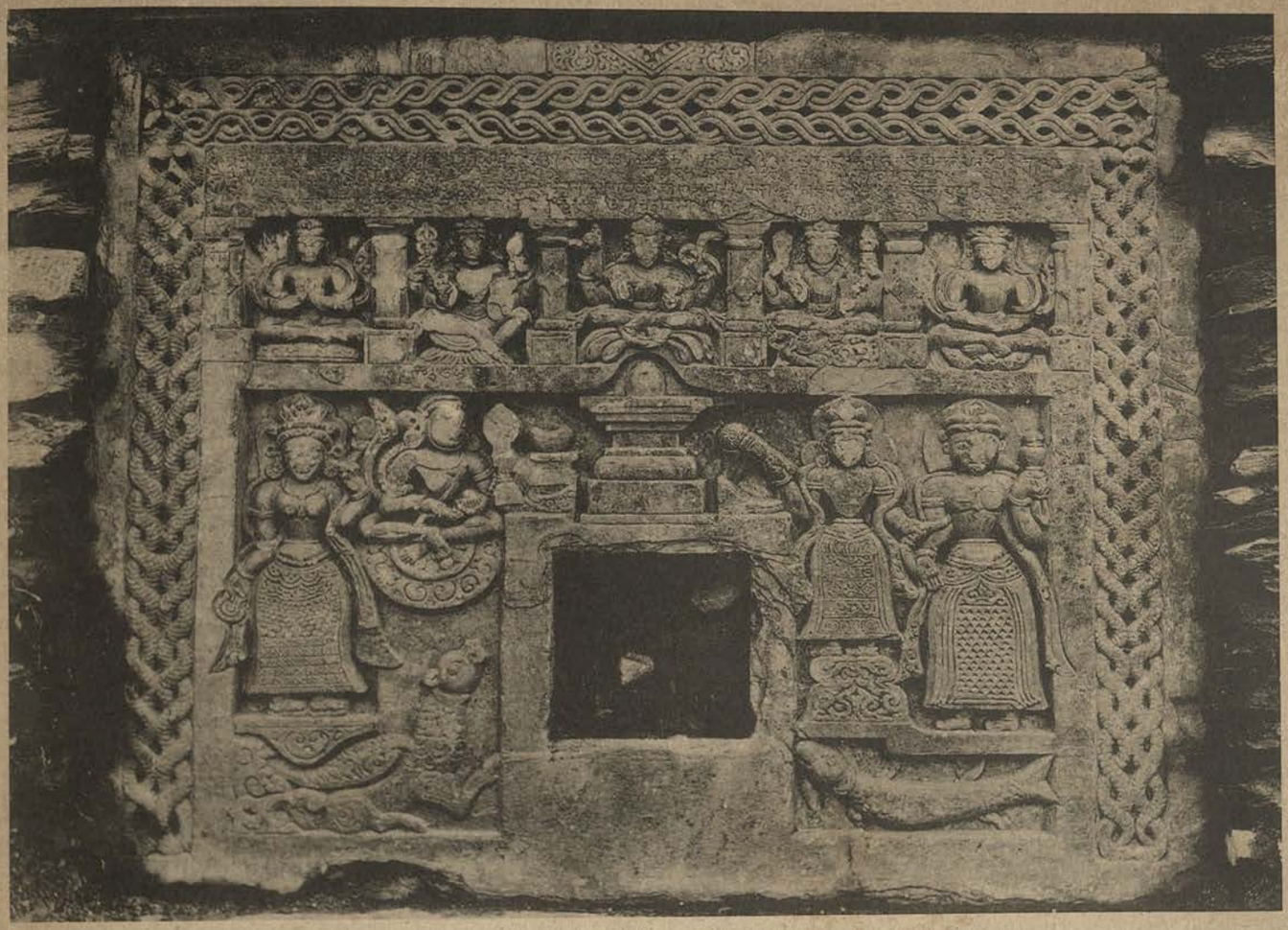
The whole of the sculptures just described are enclosed on three sides by ornamental borders, each of which consists of a double pair of interlaced snakes, a decorative device largely used on monuments in the Western Himālaya.[2] In the centre of the rim which runs above the uppermost of these borders there is a piece of ornamentation evidently the remnant of a projecting panel such as is found on other fountain stones (Cf. fig. 11). Between the upper serpent border and the row of deities there is a space of 3′ 5″ in width by 3½″ high, which bears an inscription of four lines of unequal length. The inscription proper commences 2½″ from the snake border to the proper right. In the intervening space we find a short epigraph in three lines which I read *Pratīhāra*[3] *Śrī-Ghaghuka*. The space after the fourth line which measures only 1′ 10½″ is occupied by the two short epigraphs, *Brahmā* and *Dhyāna-Maheśvara* already noted; and the concluding phrase *Iti śubh[am]*

[1] Sewel-Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*, p. 2.
The supposition that this figure refers to the week-day is not borne out by the conclusions derived from the date of the inscription.

[2] Cf. above pp. 176, 179 and 201. In these instances the meaning of the ornament is lost, and only on the Sai stone the snakes can still be recognized.

[3] The meaning of the word *pratīhāra* in Sanskrit literature is "door-keeper," but here it denotes probably some local official who was in some way connected with the erection of the fountain-stone. The word occurs also in No. 33, l. 2. Cf. above, p. 135.

(*a*) Sai Fountain Stone.



HEIGHT 3' 6"

(*b*) Bharārā Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 3' 1½"

which stands between these two words, is thus separated from the end of the inscription proper by a distance of 7″.

The letters are of fairly large size (½″ to ¾″) and well engraved; but in places the surface of the stone has peeled off, so that several of the *akṣaras* are more or less damaged.

The pronounced angular type of the *akṣaras tha, dha, pa, va,* and *ṣa* is a noticeable feature, which this inscription shares with the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī *praśasti* (No. 32). The rectangular, almost square *dha* is specially remarkable; this form I have not met with in any other Śāradā inscription. The *kha* with crooked front-stroke occurs also in the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscription. The *la* appears here both in the older form with a horizontal stroke representing the original base line (l. 3, *bāladhāra*), and in the later form with double curve (l. 1, *kali*). Medial *i* is sometimes rendered by a short curve above the *akṣara* (l. 1, *vati, khasitaṁ*, l. 3, *ghaṭāpitaṁ*) and sometimes the curve is continued at the side of the *akṣara*. It deserves special notice that the medial vowels *e, ai, o* and *au* are throughout expressed by the superscribed signs and never by a *pṛṣṭhamātrā*. The subscribed *tha* in the ligature *sthā* (l. 3) has also the secondary form. On the whole the Sai inscription exhibits the later type of Śāradā found in the inscriptions of the latter half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. It also deserves notice that the *anusvāra* is used instead of the nasal consonant in *setubaṁdhe* (l. 3), *anaṁtā* (l. 4), *paṁthā*° (l. 4).

The first two lines of the inscription are in prose. They record the erection of a "Varuṇa" by Rāja-pāla for the sake of Rāṇautra Phāhi. We have already met with this name as indicating the male figure seated at the side of the *liṅga*. The word *Rāṇautra* I believe to be a title derived from *Rāṇāputra*, and consequently designating the son of a Rāṇā. We may compare *autar* which, in the dialect of Chambā, denotes a sonless man and is clearly derived from Sanskrit *aputra*.[1] The word *rāṇautra* would, therefore, have the same relationship to *rāṇā* as *rājpūt* to *rājā*. It may possibly be identified with the caste-name *Rotar* which occurs in Kaṣṭavāṛ. The Rotars who are a not numerous caste are said by local tradition to have held Kaṣṭavāṛ before it became the seat of a Rājā. There is also a tradition that on one occasion they ousted the Rājā and for a short time enjoyed their former independence. Their position was evidently the same as that of the Rāṇās in Chambā and other Hill tracts. It is interesting to note that in Kaṣṭavāṛ no Rāṇās are found.

The second half of the inscription contains two stanzas in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, numbered 1 and 2, in which the comparative merit of various pious works is contrasted. It will be observed that the climax of merit is not, as one would expect, the erection of a "Varuṇa," but the construction of a road, perhaps a gentle hint addressed to the local ruler of the time. As roads deserving of the name have become known in Chambā only during the last fifty years, it would appear that those in power had not shown themselves very anxious to acquire the endless merit, promised by the writer of our inscription. This poetical passage betrays a very indifferent knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

[1] We may also compare *mahaut* which, according to Dr. Bloch, is derived from *mahāputra*, *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. LXII, p. 372.

TEXT.

ओम् । शास्त्रीये संवत् [१] चैत्रा वति दशम्यां कलिर्गतं वर्शाणां ४२७० खसितं ४२७३० उभौ कलि[1]- प्रमाणं ४३२००० परम[2]-भट्टारक-महारजाधिराज-परमेश्वर: श्रीमत-(l. 2) अजयपाल-देव-प्रवर्धमाण-कल्याण-विजय-राज्ये संवत् — — — — श्रीदेवसात्म[3]ज-श्री-राजपालेन राणौत्र-श्री-फा[4]हि-ङ्करणे वरुणं स्थापितं[5] (l. 3) सेतुबंधे परं धर्मं । दशगुणं त्वापिस्तथा । कुपे शतगुणं प्रोक्तं सहस्रं मठछा-दने । १ अयुतं[6] प्रभुनीरेण । लक्षं देउ[ल]-स्थापने कोटिं देव-प्रतिष्ठा च । (l. 4) अनंता पंथास्मारणे । २ घटापितं श्री-बालधार-छ — — केन: घटितं श्रीसूत्रधार-[श्री-]—णेन — — — — — — इति शुभ्

The language of this inscription, as remarked above, is extremely corrupt. The date requires no further discussion, nor will it be necessary to point out mistakes like *Caitrā* for *Caitra* and *varśāṇāṁ* for *varṣāṇāṁ*. The word *khaśitaṁ* (perhaps the true reading is *khaṁsitaṁ* or *khaṁsvitaṁ*) I am unable to explain; but the meaning is evidently "remaining, left." The *vigraha* after *parameśvara* is out of place; for *śrīmata* read *śrīmad* and *pravardhamāna* instead of *pravardhamāṇa* (l. 2). The term *Devasātmaja*, if grammatically correct, can only mean "the son of Devasa"; but I have a suspicion that here, as elsewhere, the writer has ignored the *saṁdhi* rules, and that the true reading would be either *devātmaja* or *devasyātmaja*, in which case *deva* would indicate *Ajayapāla-deva* who was reigning at the time. For *Phāhiṅkaraṇe* I propose to read *Phāhi-kāraṇe*. In other similar inscriptions we find the person mentioned, for whose sake the fountain-slab was erected. In the present case it was Rāṇautra Phāhi, whose effigy is portrayed on the stone. The words *Varuṇa* and *dharma* in the next line have been treated as if they were neuter instead of masculine. The first word of line 3 must be *setubandhe*, the word following *daśaguṇaṁ* is uncertain; it seems to consist of three words *tu=āpis=tathā;* but what meritorious work is indicated by *āpis* I am unable to say. The *u* of *kupe* must be long. Of the compound *maṭha-chādane*, the first member *maṭha* means a hospice or rest-house for travellers, the modern *dharmśālā*.[7] The meaning of *chādana* is "cover, screen, clothing"; but here it will have to be taken in the sense of "the providing of cover or clothing to the poor," in which case the whole expression may be regarded as a co-ordinative or *dvandva* compound. The word *nīra* (=water) in the beginning of the second stanza is puzzling. It can hardly be connected with the preceding *prabhu* which I believe to stand for the vocative *prabho*. The first member of the compound *deula-sthāpane* is evidently a form derived from the Sanskrit *devakula* "a temple." The word *pratiṣṭhā* means "foundation," here to be taken as a *nomen actionis*. There can be little doubt that the word *panthāsmāraṇa* at the end of the second stanza is intended to mean "the construction of a road," though the literal meaning would be "remembrance of a road."

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[1] The syllable *li* is partly traceable.

[2] The sign for *ma* is written in the top margin over the preceding *akṣara ra*.

[3] The lower portion of the syllable which I read *tma* is injured.

[4] The value of this character is uncertain, perhaps it has to be read *ḍhā*.

[5] The first syllable of *sthāpitaṁ* is effaced, the *anusvāra* over the last syllable is lost.

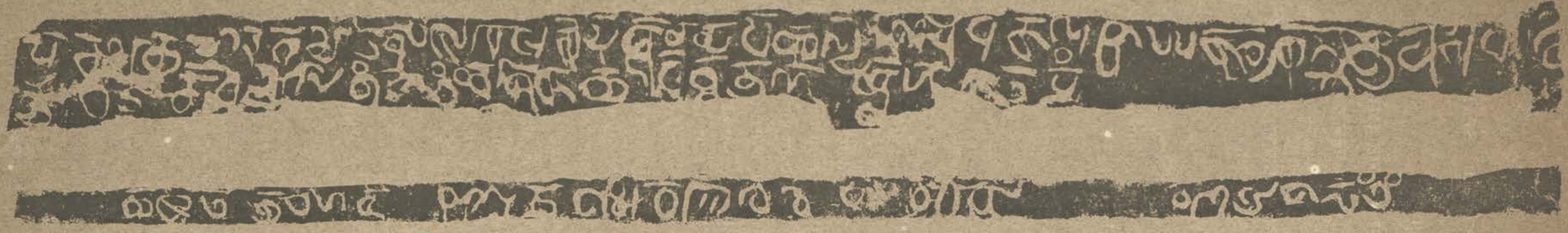
[6] The last syllable of the word *ayutaṁ* is much damaged, but both the *ta* and *anusvāra* over it can still be traced.

[7] Cf. Stein, *Rājat.* index s.v. *maṭha*.

Sai Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0·35

Basuā Fountain Inscription.



SCALE 0·50

Nāḷ Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0·60

CORRECTED READING.

ओम्। शास्त्रीये संवत् [१] चैत्र-वति दशम्यां कलेर्गत-वर्षाणि ४२७० खसितं (?) ४२७७३० उभौ कलि-प्रमाणं ४३२००० परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्-(l. 2) जयपाल-देव-प्रवर्धमान-कल्याण-विजय-राज्ये संवत् — — — — — — श्री-देवसात्मज-श्रीराजपालेन राणौत्र-श्री-फाहि-कारणे वरुणः स्थापितः॥ (l. 3) सेतुबन्धे परो धर्मो दशगुणम् त्वापिस्तथा। कूपे शतगुणः प्रोक्तः सहस्रं मठ-क्षादने (?) ॥ १ ॥ अयुतं प्रभो नीरेण लक्षं देवकुल[1]- स्थापने। कोटि र्देव-प्रतिष्ठाया- (l. 4) मनन्तः पत्याख्यारणम् (?) ॥ २ ॥ घाटितं श्री-बालधार-(?)-क्ष — — केन। घटितं श्री-सूत्र-धार-[श्री]—णेन। इति शुभम् ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the Śāstra year 1 (?), [the month of] Caitra, on the 10th day of the dark fortnight, when 4,270 years [of the Age] of Sin (Kali-yuga) had gone [and] 427,730 remained, the total [being] the duration [of the Age] of Sin 432,000[2] years [and] in the . . year of the increasing fortunate reign of victory of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Ajaya-pāla of divine descent has [this] fountain-stone (*lit.* Varuṇa) been erected by the illustrious Rāja-pāla, the son of the illustrious Devasa (or Deva, *viz.*, the king ?) for the sake of Rāṇautra Phāhi [Verse] 1. It is declared that in the building of a bridge[3] [lies] exceeding merit; ten-fold [that merit] in . . . ; in [the digging of] a well an hundred-fold, thousand-fold in [the construction of] a hospice and [the providing of] covering. [Verse] 2. Ten-thousand-fold [that merit lies] in . . . . . ; hundred-thousand-fold in the erection of a temple; ten-million-fold in the consecration of a god (*i.e.*, a divine image), endless merit in the construction (?) of a road.

Caused to be made by the illustrious *Bāladhāra*[4] Cha- . k-. Made by the illustrious artisan . . ṇa. Thus may [it be] blessed!

No. 36.—BHARĀṚĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plates XXXIV and XXXVI).

The village of Bharāṛā (map Barara) is situated at the head of the Ḍukruṇḍ Nālā, which debouches into the Cāñju valley near Lōh-Ṭikrī, and at a distance of 3 miles from the latter place. The rivulet which waters the Ḍukruṇḍ ravine takes its origin from two springs. At the western source which rises near the first-mentioned village three sculptured slabs are found, besides a great number of rudely carved *autar* stones. The three slabs all bear inscriptions, but on two of them the lettering is so obliterated as to render deciphering impracticable. (*Cf.* fig. 19.)

The third slab, measuring 3′ 1½″ in height and 5′ 11½″ in width, shows over the spout hole a male figure seated on a low couch and holding in its right hand a trident

[1] By restoring the word *devakula*, we have one syllable in excess.

[2] The Kali-yuga consists of 1200 years of the gods, each such year being equal to 360 years of man. On the date *cf.* above, pp. 76 f.

[3] The word *setu* is still preserved in the Chambā dialect in the form *sēu*, but now-a-days *pul* is the common expression.

[4] The *sūtradhāra* (*lit.* thread-holder) seems here to be the man who actually carved the stone, whereas the title *Bāladhāra* (a word not found elsewhere) appears to denote the overseer who superintended the work.

and in its left what looks like a club, but is presumably meant for a lotus-flower. This attribute we have already noticed in the hands of Varuṇa on other fountain stones; the figure on the Bharāṛā stone presumably represents the same deity. On both sides a female figure clad in an ornamental petticoat is standing with a water-vessel in each hand, the left being raised and the right stretched downward.

In the lower portion of the slab, separated from the upper part by a horizontal band of scrollwork, we find on each side of the spout opening a dwarf pilaster and a lotus-rosette. Over the latter and at the side of the female figures the inscription is cut, being distributed over two panels of equal size (10″ high by 11″ wide). The whole is comprised within various decorative borders.

The proper right hand panel contains nine lines of writing, and has, moreover, one word written vertically on the ledge next the female figure. The left panel has eight lines and a short ninth line. The letters are from $\frac{5}{8}$″ to $\frac{3}{4}$″ in size. Owing to long exposure, the inscribed surface has become considerably worn so that many of the *akṣaras* have lost their original shape. Besides, the language of the document is as ungrammatical as in most inscriptions of the kind.

The inscription is dated in the 27th year of a Rājā: the first part of whose name is unfortunately lost. As the name ends in *-varman*, we may assume that he was a ruler of Chambā. The second portion of the epigraph records the erection of the fountain-slab. The name of the founder is lost. The concluding portion consists of two stanzas of the usual kind.

TEXT.

श्रीं स्वस्ति: ॥ प्रवर्धमाण-कल्याण श्री- (l. 2) . . . वर्म-देव-पाद-विजय-रा- (l. 3) ज्ये वर्तमाने संवत्सरे सप्तविङ्श-(l. 4) तमे ङ्कत: संवत् २७ भाद्रप-(l. 5) द व ति अमावास्यां चन्द्रदिने (l. 6) हस्त-नक्षत्रे भटारक श्री-उ-(l. 7) विक्रात्मज-श्री-महासेन भा- (l. 8) र्या कन्ननि कार्ये तथा सु-यं (l. 9) कार्य महससुत श्री-ख . . स्थेन (l. 10) पितु-मातु-सम्भक्तेन परलोका-(l. 11) र्थं वरुण-देव स्थापित। न च (l. 12) वरुणात्पर देवं। न च वरुणा-(l. 13) त्परं तपं। न च वरुणात्परं धर्मं (l. 14) तृश्रु लोकेश्रु विश्रुतं। गवां कोटि-प्र-(l. 15) दानेन ग्रहण सोम-सूर्ययो। सम- (l. 16) [तुल्य-फलं] देवि। वरुणं यX प्रति-(l. 17) ष्ठयेत् मिति श्रेयो स्तु: घट (l. 18) ज . नीलकेन

CORRECTED READING.

श्रीं स्वस्ति: ॥ प्रवर्धमान-कल्याण-श्री- (l. 2) . . . . वर्म-देव-पाद-विजय-रा- (l. 3) ज्ये वर्तमाने संवत्सरे सप्तविंशति-(l. 4) तमे ङ्कत: संवत् २७ भाद्रप-(l. 5) द-व. ति. अमावास्यां चन्द्रदिने हस्तनक्षत्रे भट्टारक-श्री-उ-(l. 7) विक्रात्मज . . . . . (l. 8) . . . . . (l. 9) . . . . . (l. 10) मातृ-पितृ-भक्तेन परलोका- (l. 11) र्थं वरुण-देव: स्थापित: ॥ न (l. 12) वरुणात्परो देवो न वरुणा-(l. 13) त्परं तप:। न वरुणात्परो धर्मस् (l. 14) त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुत: ॥ गवां कोटि-प्र-(l. 15) दानेन ग्रहणे सोम-सूर्ययो:। सम- (l. 16) [तुल्य-फलं देवी वरुणो य प्रतिष्ठित:[1] ॥ इति श्रेयो स्तु ॥ घटितो ज-नीलकेन ॥

[1] Cf. above, p. 182, No. 23, note 2.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the increasing fortunate reign of victory of His Highness, the illustrious . . . . . -varman of divine descent, in the twenty-seventh year, in figures in the year 27, [the month of] Bhādrapada, the dark fortnight, on the lunar day of the New Moon, Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Hasta, the son of the Bhaṭṭāraka the illustrious Ubika . . . . . .

. . . . . .

has erected [this] fountain-stone (*lit.* god Varuṇa) out of devotion to his parents [and] for the sake of the next world. No higher god than Varuṇa, no higher gain of penitence, no higher law than Varuṇa, is known in the three worlds. By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the moon or sun an equal merit is attained as by him who erects an image of Devī or Varuṇa. Thus may it be blessed. Made by Ja—nīlaka.

No. 37.—BASUĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATES XXXV AND XXXVII *c*.)

Basuā (map Baswa) is a village half a mile to the north of Bagōṛ (map Bagore) and belongs to the *pargaṇā* of that name, which forms part of the Curāh *wazārat*. The stone on which the inscription is cut measures 2′ 10½″ in height and 2′ 5″ in width. The proper right end is missing. The upper portion of the slab contains three panels with rudely carved figures. In the centre is Varuṇa with his trident and lotus-flower; to his left are the figures of a male and a female worshipping a *liṅga* and to his right a horseman. These three panels are separated from the lower portion by a horizontal border of irregular design with a pair of birds in the centre. These, as usual, are placed over the spout which is flanked by two clumsy pilasters. The whole is enclosed within a double serpent border.

The inscription consists of three lines of writing, of which two, measuring 1′ 10″ and 1′ 3¼″ respectively, are above and the third, 1′ 6½″ in length, beneath the figured panel. Presumably a few syllables are lost in the beginning of each line, where the stone is broken. The letters are so badly executed, as to render their meaning uncertain throughout. Most of them are indeed wholly unrecognisable, and only in places is it possible to recognize a few words. The first line seems to commence with *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*. The next five *akṣaras* must represent the Rājā's name, the second part of which is possibly *deva*. Then follows the word *kalyāṇa* after which we expect *rājye*. The word *Varuṇa* in the same line is still legible and is apparently followed by the past participle *thāpitaḥ* (for *sthāpitaḥ*). The remainder of the inscription is illegible. It does not seem to contain any date.

No. 38.—BAṬRŪṆḌĪ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATES XXXVII *d* AND XXXVIII.)

Near the village of Baṭrūṇḍī (map Batrund), 1¼ mile south-east of Lōh-Ṭikrī, a carved stone, evidently a fragment of a fountain-slab was found placed on a wall. The *panhiyār* to which it once belonged is asserted by local tradition to have been wilfully destroyed on the same occasion as the Mūl-Kihār one, namely, at the time

of the war with Basōhlī in the second half of the 18th century. At present the stone is preserved in the Chambā State Museum (Cat. No. A 12).

On the fragment, which measures 2′ 2″ in height and 5′ 7″ in width, two rows of rudely carved figures are partly preserved. The centre of the upper row is occupied by Varuṇa seated on a couch inside an ornamental chapel. On each side a female figure, probably a degenerated river-goddess, is standing with a vessel in each hand. At the two ends of the row we find a clumsily carved horseman. Of that to the proper left only the head now remains.

Between the two rows of figures there runs a horizontal band, in the midst of which there are the two birds with interlaced necks commonly met on fountain stones. Immediately beneath, in the centre of the lower row, there is a partly broken figure of uncertain meaning, perhaps derived from an Atlant. On each side of it we find some six birds placed one over the other.[1] The proper right portion of the lower row of figures consists of two panels, one with an archer and the other with two fighting soldiers armed with sword and shield. The left hand side which is missing presumably contained similar figures. The whole of these sculptures are enclosed within a double ornamental border.

Between this border and the horsemen of the upper row there are two inscribed panels measuring 1′ 1″ in height by 4″ in width. That to the proper right, containing fourteen lines of writing, is much obliterated; on that to the left only two lines can be traced. It is apparently dated in the 7th year of the reign of some Rājā, whose royal titles can still be traced in the first three lines but whose name is unfortunately lost. For the rest, only a few letters can be read. Judging from the carvings, the Baṭrūṇḍī stone may be classed with the later type of fountain-slabs. It probably belongs to the 12th century.

TEXT.

परं-भ[ट्टारक-] (l. 2) महाराजा[धिरा-] (l. 3) [ज-परमेश्व][र-] (l. 4) श्री- . . . . . (l. 5) . विजय-[रा-] (l. 6) ज्ये संवत् ७ (l. 7) . . श्री-ज्व . [l. 8] . . . . . (l. 11) . . कहु तथा (l. 12) . . रुक

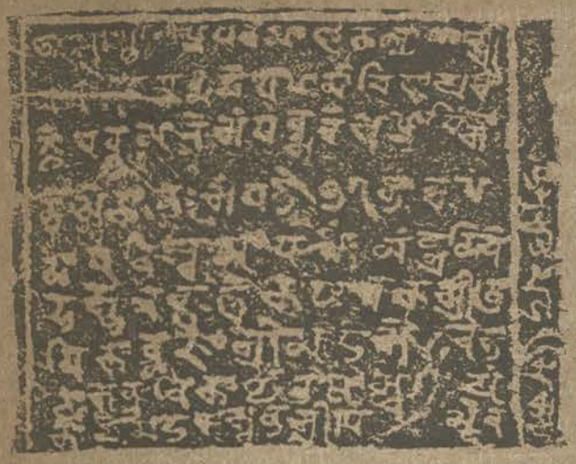
No. 39.—NĀḶ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

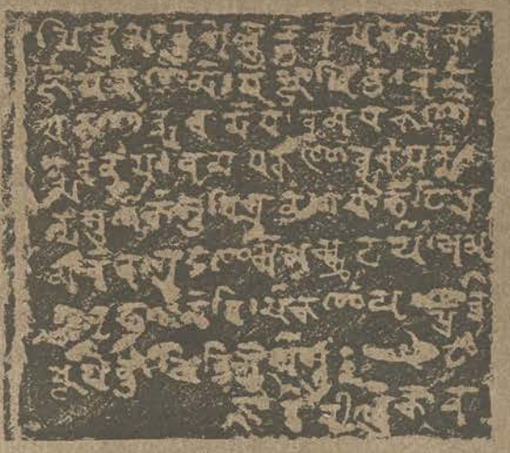
(Plate XXXV.)

In the summer of 1906 a fragment of an inscribed fountain-slab was discovered on the wall of a field belonging to the Rāṭhī Phinhu at the village of Nāḷ immediately beneath Tīsā, the headquarters of the *pargaṇā* of the same name, which forms part of the Curāh *wazārat*. The stone probably belonged to a fountain a short distance above the field where it was found. Local tradition holds the place to have been the site of a Rāṇā's castle. The inscription is now placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 17). The fragment, which measures 2′ 6″ in height and 2′ in width, is evidently a portion of the proper left half of the original stone, which must have been of considerable size. It is carved with three rows of clumsy figures, separated by horizontal bands of decorative design. The figures are placed in sunk panels

[1] The same device occurs on a well preserved fountain-slab at Tēpā, one mile north of Dēvī-rī-kōṭhi. (Fig. 11).

Bharārā Fountain Inscription.

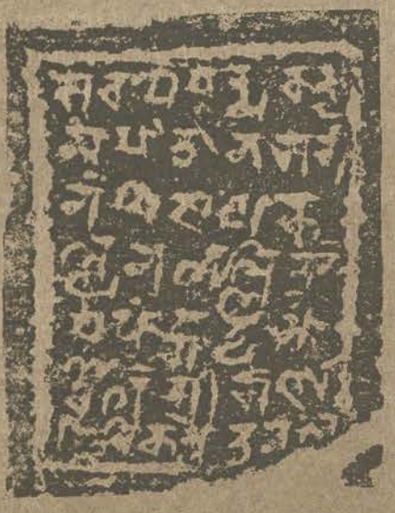




Siyā-Dudhār Fountain Inscription.

Maṅgalōā Fountain Inscription.

Bento-Puhālī Fountain Inscription.



Sukōi Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0·25

between dwarf pilasters. The carvings are very inferior in workmanship, and much defaced, owing to long exposure. In the upper row the figures of a horseman and a female are partly preserved. The central figure must have been Varuṇa seated on a couch of which one leg can still be traced to the right of the female figure. In the central row we have to the proper left two females carrying water-pots, with a child between them. The male figure to the right possibly represents an archer or swordsman. Of the lowermost row only the heads of three figures are extant. To the proper left runs a vertical serpent border.

Fig. 27. Fountain-stone of Nāḷ.

The inscription consists of three lines incised on the horizontal rims which separate the rows of sculptures. The first halves of these three lines are lost with the proper right half of the stone. The preserved portions of the first two lines measure $16\frac{1}{2}''$, that of the third line $11\frac{1}{2}''$. The letters, which are $\frac{1}{2}''$ to $\frac{5}{8}''$ in height, are of a cursive type. The first line evidently contained the date, reckoned from the year of accession of the ruling prince, whose name is unfortunately lost. The remaining portion reads :—देव-प्रवर्धमान-कल्याण-वि[ज]य-राज्ये. In the second line we read प्रतीहार सुहुणक, apparently followed by the designation and name of another official. His name seems to be भागिक. Finally we have the word राणे. The last line I am unable to interpret. From the concluding word घतितं we may infer that it contains the name(s) of the stone-mason(s) by whom the slab was carved.

No. 40.—SĪYĀ-DUDHĀR FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVI.)

Sīyā-Dudhār is the name of a locality about one mile above the village of Bāhṇotā (map Banhota) belonging to the Lōh-Ṭikrī *pargaṇā*, and at a distance of about 2 miles north of the Lōh-Ṭikrī *kōṭhī*. The term *dudhār* indicates a piece of land newly taken up for cultivation. Sīyā is the name of the ridge which separates the Lōh-Ṭikrī and Tīsā valleys. In the local dialect the name Sītā sometimes becomes Sīyā ; possibly the ridge in question was originally called Sītā Dhār.

Sīyā-Dudhār is about 2 miles below the ridge. While ploughing, two fragments of a large fountain-slab were discovered here about 1906. The two fragments, which measure 3′ 1″ in height and 3′ 4″ in width, have been refixed and are now placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 14). They must have formed the proper left half of the slab. When entire, it may have measured 6′ in width. A seated figure of Varuṇa, which is partly preserved over the square spout opening, must have occupied the centre of the stone. The rest is carved with ornamental bands and two lotus-rosettes placed one over the other. Between the upper rosette and the Varuṇa figure is an inscribed panel $9\frac{1}{2}$″ high and 9″ wide. This, however, is only the second half of the inscription. The first half, incised on the corresponding panel to the proper right, is lost. This is the more to be regretted as it probably contained the date.

The preserved panel contains seven lines of writing, 8″ to $8\frac{1}{2}$″ long, except the last line which is only $4\frac{3}{4}$″. The size of the *akṣaras* is about $\frac{3}{4}$″ to $\frac{7}{8}$″. By the breaking of the stone the second line has been cut into two, and a few of the letters have become destroyed. For the rest the lettering is distinct. The language of the inscription is very corrupt Sanskrit, such as is usually found in the fountain inscriptions of the Lōh-Ṭikrī valley. Apparently the writer had no real knowledge of Sanskrit, but merely copied some other inscription. The corrupt language renders the meaning partially obscure. Evidently the inscription records the erection of a " Varuṇa-deva " by four brothers of the Brahmanical caste of the Bhaṭṭs for the sake of their deceased brother Tyāga. Their names appear to be Phiri, Goga, Deva and Sīha. It is, however, quite possible that two of these supposed names are in reality only one name. We meet with the name Tyaga in inscription No. 32, l. 25, with that of Phiri in No. 42, with that of Goga in inscription No. 34, l. 20, with that of Deva in No. 28, and with that of Sīha[1] in the compounds, Raṇasīha and Dhaṇasīha, in No. 27. It is of some interest that apparently the individuals mentioned in the present inscription belonged to the same family of Bhaṭṭs as the founders of the Sīyā stone (No. 27) which is found at no great distance from Sīyā-Dudhār. The Sīyā inscription speaks of Raṇasīha and Dhaṇasīha, the sons of Māca, the son of Bhaṭṭa Rudra, and in the present case we have the sons of Dhanasīha, the grandson of Ludrauka. The latter name may quite well be another name for Rudra. It would, of course, be more natural to connect *pautra* with the names Phiri, Goga, Deva and Sīha, but grammatically it can just as well belong to Dhaṇasīha. It should also be noted that between Dhaṇasīha and *putra* two or three syllables are lost. In case my conjecture is correct, the

[1] The word *sīha* is a Prākrit form of Sanskrit *siṁha* meaning " a lion."

Sīyā-Dudhār inscription would be a generation posterior to that of Sīyā and consequently belong to the beginning of the 12th century.

TEXT.

भट्ट-लुद्रौक-पौत्र-ध-(l. 2)णसोह . . . . पुत्र-फि-(l. 3) रि-गोग-देव-सोह भ्रातृ-(l. 4) त्याग तस्यार्थे वरु[णः*] कृ-(l. 5) तं संसार-भय-भीतेन व-(l. 6) रुण-देव स्थापितं (l. 7) इति शुभं ॥

CORRECTED READING.

भट्ट-लुद्रौक-पौत्र-ध-(l. 2) णसोह . . . . पुत्र-फि-(l. 3) रि-गोग-देव-सोहै भ्रातृ-(l. 4) त्यागस्यार्थे वरुणः कृ(l. 5) तः संसार-भय-भीतैर्व-(l. 6) रुण-देवः स्थापितः । (l. 7) इति शुभम् ॥

TRANSLATION.

Phiri, Goga, Deva, and Sīha, the sons of Dhaṇasīha, the grandson(s) of Bhaṭṭa Ludrauka have made [this] fountain-stone (*lit.* Varuṇa) for the sake of their brother Tyāga, fearing with the fear of existence, they have erected [this] fountain-stone (*lit.* god Varuṇa). Blessed be it.

No. 41.—MAṄGALŌĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVI.).

The village of Maṅgalōā lies about 1 or 2 miles above the State *kōṭhī* of Lōh-Ṭikrī and belongs to the *parganā* of that name. An inscribed fragment of a fountain-slab was discovered in 1907 in the Maṅgalōā Nālā, at a distance of about 500′ above the village. It measures 1′ 2″ in height and 2′ 1″ in width, and must have formed part of the proper left side of the stone. It is carved in the usual fashion; we notice part of a lotus-rosette and the upper portion of a dwarf pilaster. The stone, when entire, must have contained two inscribed panels. That on the proper right with the first half of the inscription has become lost.

The upper portion of the remaining panel is partly destroyed. The preserved part consists of seven lines; but of the first line only one *akṣara* remains, and of the second line only five are entire. The lines are about 10½″ in length; the *akṣaras* about ¾″ to 1″ in height. The inscription, as far as preserved, consists of two stanzas in extremely corrupt Sanskrit. The second stanza occurs in several other fountain inscriptions.[1]

TEXT.

. . व (?) . . (l. 2) . . . [अ]स्थिरं जोवित . . (l. 3) अस्थिर धण-जौवणं अस्थि-(l. 4) रं पुत्र-दाराणां धर्म-कीर्ति-जश (l. 5) स्थिरं ॥ गवां कोटि-प्रदाणेण (l. 6) ग्रहणे सूर्य-सोमयो समतुल-(l. 7) फलं देवी वरुणं ये पतिष्ठित

TRANSLATION.

. . . Unstable are life and . . . ; unstable are wealth and youth; unstable is [the possession] of son and wife. Only the fame and glory of piety is stable. By a gift of ten millions of cows at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal merit [is attained, as by him] who erects [an image of Dēvī or Varuṇa].

[1] Cf. above, No. 23, p. 182, n. 2.

No. 42.—BENTŌ-PUHĀLĪ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVI.)

Bentō is the name of a *puhālī* or shepherd station (*puhāl*=shepherd), situated about two miles east of Kilāṛ in Pāṅgī, on the road which, following the right side of the Malvahār Nālā, leads to Zaṅgskar by the Śiṅkal Pass. The place is only inhabited by some herdsmen from Kilāṛ during the months of Sāvan, Bhādōn and Asuj. In the cattle-pen a few carved fountain-slabs, probably removed from some neighbouring spring, have been set up for worship. One of these bears a rudely incised inscription, distributed over two panels of equal size (9″×7″), each containing seven short lines of writing. The letters which are very irregular and badly formed, measure from ½″ to 1″ in height. Of the proper right panel one of the lower corners is broken, causing the loss of the first three letters of the seventh line. The missing portion can be restored with certainty.

The inscription is evidently composed by some individual, who, without possessing any knowledge of Sanskrit, vaguely remembered certain expressions from official documents written in that language. These, wrongly spelled but still recognizable, he has used at random.

We must suppose that to its author the inscription did convey some meaning, but I have failed to gather it. In lines 5-8 we find the usual royal titles and in line 8 the word *varma* can be read, but it is preceded by only one syllable, which bears some resemblance to *dha*. The word *kanya* (?) at the end of the same line is perhaps meant for *rājya* and *camāt* in the beginning of the next line for *saṁvat*. The words *vijāya*, i.e. *vijaya* and *kalyana*, i.e. *kalyāṇa*, in lines 10-11 ought, in reversed order, to precede the word *rājya*. In lines 11-12 we read *Lallita-deva*, from which perhaps we may infer that the stone was erected in the reign of Lalita-varman of Chambā. If so, the date of the inscription would be about the third quarter of the 12th century. In lines 12-13 we find *Pāṅgatya-maṇḍale*, which confirms our conclusion that the ancient name of Pāṅgī, as mentioned in the Sālhī inscription, is Pāṅgatī. This, as far as I can see, is the only point of interest of the record under discussion.

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ ओं न-(l. 2) मो गणपतये (l. 3) नम ओं श्री-पर्म-(l. 4) पूज्या पर्म वियक (l. 5) ख्यज्ये पर्म-भट-(l. 6) रिक-महराजा (l. 7) [धिराज] परमे-(l. 8) श्ररा-धवर्म कन्य (l. 9) चमात् नश्रो (l. 10) नं विजाय-क-(l. 11) ख्यन लल्लित-दे-(l. 12) व पंङ्क्त्य-म-(l. 13) ख्डले श्री श्रीण (l. 14) फिरिक-सुत-(?) ल

No. 43.—SUKŌI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVI).

In the village of Sukōi, half a mile south-east of Lōh-Ṭikrī, the headquarters of the *pargaṇā* of the same name, in the Cāñju valley, a fragment of an inscribed fountain slab was recovered in the summer of 1905 on the flat roof of a house. Presumably its original site was at a fountain close by, over which another carved stone of inferior workmanship is now placed, an evident imitation of the Bharāṛā

(*a*) Dadvār Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 3'

(*b*) Lōh-Ṭikrī Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 1' 8½"

(*c*) Basuā Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 2' 10½"

Batrūṇḍī Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 2' 2"

PLATE XXXVII.

one (No. 38). It also exhibits the figure of Varuṇa seated on a low bench between two standing female figures, one of which is here accompanied by a child.

As to the inscribed fragment, it measures 1′ 8″ in height and 2′ 3″ in width. When entire, the stone was probably 2′ 6″ high and 3′ 10″ wide. The panel which contains the inscription ($8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$) must have stood immediately over the water-spout, and was flanked by two lotus-rosettes. That on the proper left side is lost, together with one-half of the inscribed panel and portions of the ornamental borders.

The inscription consists of eight lines, the first four or five syllables of each of which are lost. The missing portion can partly be restored with the aid of the Bharāṛā and Lōh-Ṭikrī inscriptions which contain the same distich. Besides, the record must have mentioned the name and lineage of the founder of the "Varuṇa-deva," but here restoration is out of the question. It does not appear to have contained a date, but may be assigned to the 12th century, on account of its character. Medial *e* and *o* are expressed by a stroke and flourish, respectively, which are placed over the *akṣara*. The Sukōi inscription cannot be far removed in date from the Lōh-Ṭikrī one which was erected in A.D. 1114. The carving is superior to that of the Bharāṛā stone and the engraving of the letters too is more careful. Their size averages from $\frac{1}{2}''$ to $\frac{5}{8}''$.

TEXT.

. . . . . [ज] णाक्क-पौत्र-हा-(l. 2) . . . . . र्या हा सिकेन। (l. 3) . . . . सचिकेन। पर-(l. 4) [लोकार्थं वरु]ण-देव स्थापितं (l. 5) . . . . [ग]वां कोट्टि-प्रदाणे-(l. 6) [न ग्रहणे] सूर्य-सोमयु। सम-(l. 7) [तुल्य-फलं] दे[वो]। वरुण ये (l. 8.) न [स्थापितः।] इति शुभंम्

No. 44.—BHAṬKĀRĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXVIII.)

The hamlet of Bhaṭkārā is situated some three miles north-west of Lōh-Ṭikrī on the road from that place to Tīsā between the villages Garḥphri (map Garpari) and Ruṇḍāl (map Rundaul). Here a broken fountain-slab was discovered in the summer of 1905, which I took to Chambā and have since placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 15). The stone, which measures 3′ 2″ in height and 3′ 8″ in width, is decorated with three lotus-rosettes, of which one is placed over the spout-hole and two at the sides of it. Of the latter that to the proper left is missing. The inscription is cut on two nearly square panels on both sides of the upper lotus. That to the proper right, containing the first half of the record, is almost entirely defaced, only a few letters being still traceable.[1] Of the left hand panel the first and last lines are partly destroyed and several of the remaining *akṣaras* injured. Assuming that the number of the lines was the same on both panels, the inscription, when entire, would have consisted of twelve lines. The letters are rather shallow, but well-defined and good-sized (1′ to 2″).

The preserved portion of the epigraph does not contain a date; presumably it is lost with the first half of the inscription. On account of the character I am inclined to assign it to the 11th century. The *h* presents an early type and the *ru*

[1] In the last line I read the word *sthāpitaṁ*.

is very similar to that of Vidagdha's copper-plate grant (No. 15.) The *ṇ* and *s*, on the contrary, have the later shape of the 11th and 12th centuries. The medial *e* is expressed by a stroke over the *akṣara*. The *na* has a peculiar form which is also found in one of the Tur image inscriptions (No. 19).

The inscription records the erection of the fountain-slab on which it is incised. The name of the founder is apparently Dhaṇa which may be an abbreviation of Dhanañjaya.[1] The word *parma-* (read *parama*) *mahātmanā* which precedes the past participle *sthāpitam* is merely an epithet. The expression *saṁsāra-bhaya-bhīruṇā* is synonymous with the *saṁsāra-bhaya-bhītena* of the Ḍaḍvāṛ and Bhakūṇḍ fountain inscriptions (Nos. 20 and 21) with which one might group the epigraph under discussion, in the absence of any clear indication of its date.

TEXT.

. . . [सु]त-धण-(l. 2.)पर्म-मह्मत्मना (l. 3.) स्थापितं वरुणं-(l. 4) तेन संसार-भय-[l. 5. भीरुणा भार्या-धणे-[l. 6.] ण [सं] . .

CORRECTED READING.

. . . सुत-धण-(l. 2) परम-मह्मत्मना (l. 3) स्थापितो वरुण-(l. 4)स्तेन संसार-भय-(l. 5) भीरुणा भार्या-धने-(l. 6) न सं . .

TRANSLATION.

This fountain-slab (*lit.* Varuṇa) has been erected by the son of . . . . , the very eminent Dhaṇa,[2] fearing with the fear of existence, with the money of his wife.

No. 45.—HUṆḌĀṆ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVIII.)

At Huṇḍāṇ, a village 5 miles east of Kilāṛ in Pāṅgī, there is a fragment of an inscribed fountain-slab, measuring 2′ 10″ in width and 1′ 8″ in height, which is held in great veneration by the people of the neighbourhood. The fragment which must have formed the proper right half of the stone, when entire, has no figures, but the usual decoration of conventional lotus-flowers. Evidently there were three lotus-rosettes, one placed over the spout and two at the sides of it. To the proper right of the central lotus we find an inscribed panel which measures 1′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ in width and $4\frac{1}{2}$″ in height. There is reason to suppose that the missing left hand portion of the stone contained a similar panel, so that the second half of the inscription is lost.

The preserved part consists of three lines of writing. The letters are on an average 1″ in size, but owing to long exposure their sharp outlines are lost, so that it is often hard to establish their true value. The language, moreover, is by no means grammatically correct. The inscription contains merely a date, but as the figure of the *tithi* has been omitted it is useless for chronological purposes. It is dated in the 4th year of a ruler of the name of Sālivikrama.

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[1] The name Dhaṇañjaya (spelled Dhaṇañjaya) occurs in the copper-plate grant of Āsaṭa (No. 26, l. 15).

[2] That Dhaṇa is the name of the founder follows from the preceding *suta*. The word is to be connected with the following *paramamahātmanā*, though the construction is hardly grammatical. We may compare in compounds like Lalitakṣitīśa (No. 32, l. 12) and Vijayeśvara (No. 34, l. 24) in which the second member is a title.

Huṇḍāṇ Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0·50

Baṭrūṇḍī Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0·25

Bhaṭkārā Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0·25

Ghumsāḷ Temple Inscription.

SCALE 0·50

TEXT.

ओं स्वस्तिः । ओं श्री-सालिविक्रम-महाद्युति-विज-(l. 2)य-राज्ये । संवत् [च*]तुर्थे सित×प×च रितौ थ ग्रि-(l. 3) षे । श्री-ग्राढ-मासे गुरुवरे मजडुरोच(?) । सं

CORRECTED READING.

ओं स्वस्तिः । ओं श्री-सालिविक्रम-महाद्युति-विज-(l. 2) यराज्ये संवत् चतुर्थे सिते पच्च ऋतौ ग्रीं(l. 3)षे । आषाढ-मासे गुरुवारे (The remainder is unintelligible.)

No. 46.—GHUṀSĀḶ ŚIVĀLAYA INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVIII.)

The hamlet of Ghuṁsāḷ is situated near Suṭkar the main village of Trēhṭā. It contains a small stone temple, 6′ 6″ high and 4′ wide, which is dedicated to Śiva.

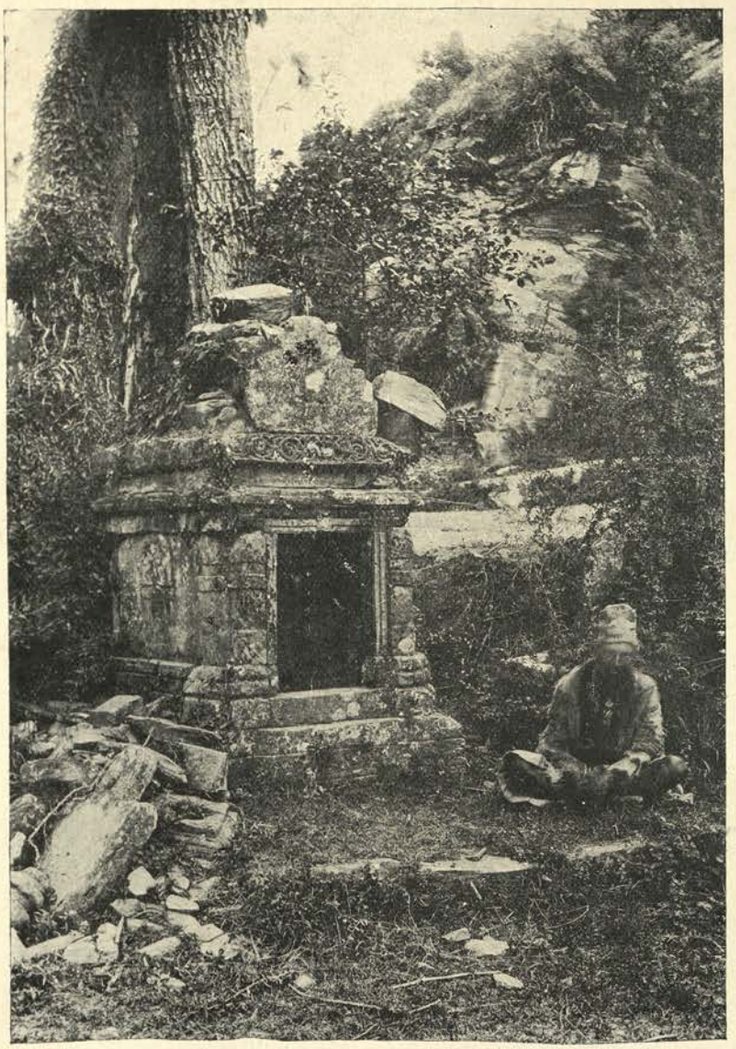


Fig. 28. Śivālaya at Ghuṁsāl.

The object of worship is a *liṅga*. The roof of the building was ruined in the earthquake of 4th April, 1905. On the lintel over the entrance (2½″ long and 3½″ high) is an inscription in two lines, which measure 11″ and 10″ in length respectively. The letters are good-sized (½″ to ¾″) and distinct. The language is corrupt Sanskrit. In the first line we have to read *sthānaṁ* instead of *sthana* and in the second line *kṛtam* and *sūtradhāra* instead of *karītavya* and *sutradhara*. The term *pajiaṇi* I suppose to be a caste-name. Possibly the inscription belongs to the Muhammadan period, as some of the letters, especially the looped *da* and *ra* and the ligature *tra* with downward *r*-stroke to the right, exhibit a late type. It may belong to the 13th or 14th century.

TEXT.

श्री-पजिआणि-कुकदेव-स्थन (l. 2) करीतव्य सुत्रधर पजु गं[गु]

TRANSLATION.

The shrine (*sthāna*) of the illustrious Pajiaṇi Kukadeva, made by the stone-masons Paju and Gaṅgu.

No. 47.—SĀHŌ IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATES XXXIX AND XL.)

Opposite the temple of Candrasēkh (Skr. *Candra-śekhara*) at Sāhō there is a small shrine (8′ 11″ by 8′ 6″ outside), containing an inscribed stone statuette of Viṣṇu (height 1′ 8½″). The god has three faces, the side ones being those of a lion and a boar, apparently an allusion to the Narasiṁha and Varāha *avatāras*. The halo is besmeared with Ganges-sand (*gaṅgōṭhī*.) The deity is standing with two of his four hands resting on the heads of a pair of miniature chowrie carriers. Of the two remaining hands the right one holds a lotus-flower and the left one is broken. The bust of a female figurine, said to represent Lakṣmī, issues from the base between his feet. In most points the image resembles the inscribed brass statuette of Viṣṇu from Fatehpur, Kāṅgrā district, now preserved in the Lahore Museum.[1] Behind the chowrie bearers a second pair of attendants are visible. The rest of the slab is carved with miniature figures, all of which are more or less defaced. The two four-armed figurines seated on both sides of the head of Viṣṇu appear to be Brahmā and Śiva, thus indicating him as the principal person of the Hindū Triad. The remaining figures I take to represent the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. To his right we distinguish the fish and the tortoise. Evidently the latter animal was not known to the artist by sight, as on the sculpture it looks curiously like a horse. But we have met with another example of such a phantastical turtle in the Chambā sculpture.[2] Above the halo we notice Rāma (?) and Buddha to the proper right and Paraśurāma and Kalki to the proper left. The other figures are too indistinct to be identified.

The base of this statuette, which is carved in three facets, the central one 5½″ and the side ones 1½″ wide by 2″ high, bears an inscription of four lines. The

[1] Cf. *A. R. A. S.* for 1904-5, p. 109.

[2] Cf. above, p. 233, and plate XXXIV *a*.

(*a*) Image of Viṣṇu at Sāhō.

HEIGHT 1' 8½"

(*b*) Image of Śiva at Harsar.

HEIGHT 1' 1½"

(*c*) Image of Kālī at Markulā.

HEIGHT 1' 11½"

PLATE XXXIX.

letters are small ($\frac{3}{8}''$) and partly defaced, especially on the side facets. On that to the proper right the lettering has almost completely disappeared. The inscription was evidently dated in the regnal year of the ruling chief, as appears from the royal titles in the first line, but his name is unfortunately lost. The name of the donor of the statuette which I read *Ukukāṇa* occurs in the third line, and accordingly the image itself is denoted as *Ukukāṇa-svāmin*. It is interesting to find here an instance of the usage of naming an image after its founder, of which numerous examples can be quoted from the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[1] Another point of interest is that the image is said to have been set up —*Rudra-sahitā*—which apparently means "at the temple of Rudra."[2] This name no doubt indicates the temple of Candrasēkh, opposite which the Viṣṇu image is enshrined. It thus affords another proof of the antiquity of that fane, as the Viṣṇu statuette certainly goes back to the pre-Muhammadan period.

TEXT.

— — — [परम-] भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर — — — — (l. 2) — — —
[राज्य-] संवत ६ — — — — — — — — — (l. 3) — — — [नि]क-श्री-उकुकाणिन[3]
उकुकाणस्वामि -प्रति-(l. 4)[मा प्रति] ष्ठिता[4] रुद्र-सहिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the 6th year of the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord . . . . . [this] image of Ukukāṇa-svāmin was erected by . . . . the illustrious Ukukāṇa near [the temple of] Rudra.

No. 48.—MARKULĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATES XXXIX *c* AND XL.)

One of the most famous temples of Chambā State is that of Kālī at the village of Markulā or Udaipur (map Odapur) in Lahul. The goddess is usually indicated as Markulā Dēvī from the name of the village. Mr. A. H. Francke informs me that the Buddhists of Lahul worship the goddess of Markulā as rDo-rje-phag-mo (Skr. *Vajra-varāhī*). It is interesting to know that in Nepal also this goddess is identified with Bhavānī, the spouse of Bhava (Śiva).[5] The idol worshipped in this temple is an insignificant and ugly brass statuette with eyes of silver, and is 2′ high including the pedestal which is 6″ in height. It represents the goddess standing on the prostrated Buffalo-demon (*Mahiṣāsura*) whom she pierces with her trident. On his body the heads and paws of no less than three lions are visible which are evidently assisting the goddess in destroying the Asura (Cf. above p. 151, plate XIII.) Beneath the Mahiṣāsura we notice a row of ten heads, probably the remains of other demons slain by the goddess.

[1] Cf. above, p. 172.

[2] This temple is referred to by the name of *Mahārudra Candraśekh* in a copper-plate of Rājā Balabhadra, dated Vikrama 1699 (1692 ?), Śāstra 11, Bhādrapada, Amāvāsyā. *Cf.* fig. 24.

[3] The *akṣara* which I read *kā* resembles *ru*, but is quite clear in the following *Ukukāṇa-svāmi*.

[4] The *ā* stroke is apparently omitted.

[5] Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 156. Cf. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London 1881), p. 289 s. v. *rdo-rje-phag-mo*.

The Dēvī has the usual number of eight arms. Two of her right hands hold a trident (Skr. *triśūla*) and a wheel (Skr. *cakra*). The third is stretched out in the gift-bestowing attitude (Skr. *vara-mudrā*), and the fourth clasps the tail of the Buffalo-demon. In her left hands she has the following objects: a mace (Skr. *gadā*), a thunderbolt (Skr. *vajra*), a strangling string (Skr. *pāśa*) slung round the neck of a demon, and a conch (Skr. *śaṅkha*). The idol of Markulā Dēvī, though held in great veneration by the Lahulis and neighbouring hill people, is decidedly of very inferior workmanship. A comparison with the image of Lakṣaṇā Devī at Brahmor (plate VII), which is similar in subject, affords a striking illustration of the deterioration of Indian art during the intervening period.

On the base of the statuette there is an inscription in six lines $8\frac{1}{2}''$ to $10''$ long. The third line consists only of six *akṣaras* occupying a space of $2''$. It will be noticed that the last two lines are more carefully engraved than the rest, though the lettering is not so deep. It seems as if this was the original inscription and that the upper four lines have been added. This is the more probable, as the fifth line begins with *oṁ svastiḥ*. There can be little doubt that lines 5 and 6 were written by the maker himself. The rest was probably added when the idol had reached its destination. First of all, we find the name of a Ṭhākur Hīmapāla (either *Himapāla* or *Hemapāla*) who must have been the donor of the statuette. He was possibly an ancestor of the Ṭhākurs of Trilōknāth.

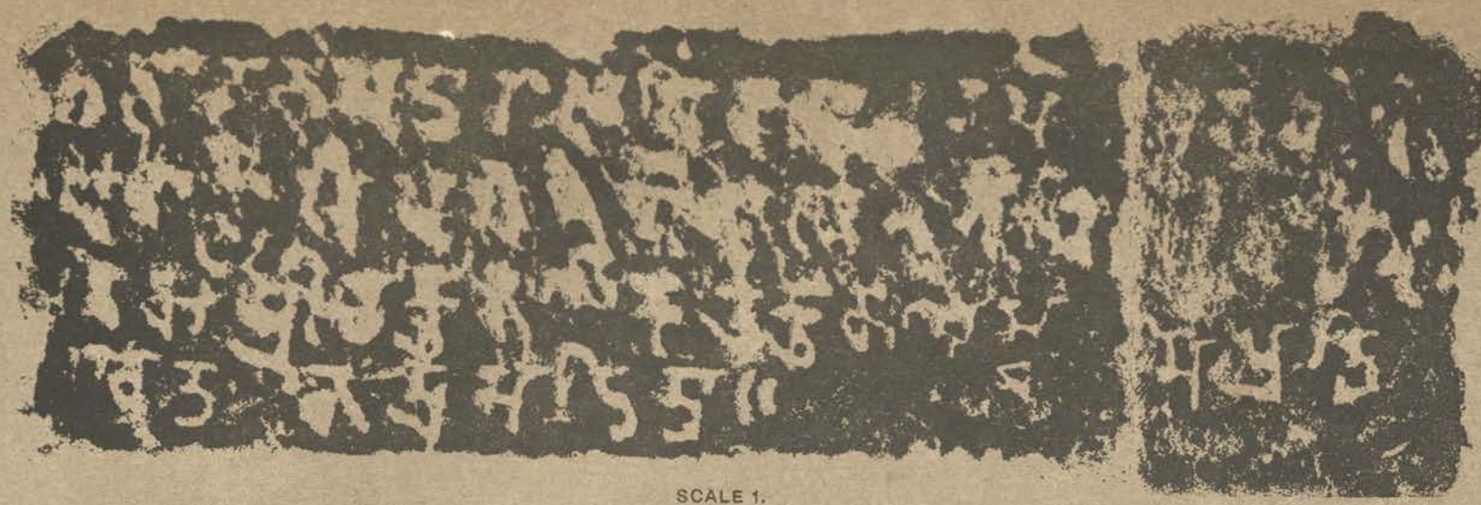
At the end of the fifth line we find four figures 4645, preceded by the *akṣara sa* (or *saṁ?*). The word *mūlyā* in the same line would suggest that those figures refer to the cost of the image. It is, however, also possible that they indicate the year in which it was made. In the latter case the number 4645 could be referred either to the Śāstra era or to the Kaliyuga, the corresponding year of the Christian era being 1569-70 or 1543-4 respectively. In either case the idol would belong to about the middle of the 16th century, and this conclusion fully agrees with its debased style.

The last line contains the name of the maker of the statuette. He calls himself Pañjamāṇaka Jīṇaka; the former word is probably a caste name. He appears further to have been a resident of the town of Bhadarvāh, called *Bhadrāvakāṣā* in the inscription. This form differs but slightly from the Sanskrit form *Bhadrāvakāśa*, which is found in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and a derivation of which *Bhadrāvakāśīya* occurs in one of the Chambā copper-plate charters (No. 25, l. 17). The first word of line 6 *Somaḍirāṣya* stands perhaps for *Somaḍirāṣṭra*. The first member of the compound I propose to connect with the tribal name *Saumaṭika* which is found in two copper-plate inscriptions (No. 24, l. 3 and No. 25, l. 2) and may be derived from a form **Sumaṭa*. There is reason to suppose that this name, which survives in the place-name Sumarṭā, is the old designation of the Balor (Vallāpura) State. The Markulā inscription seems to confirm this conclusion, as Bhadarvāh was from old considered as a dependency of Balor.

The inscription is composed in very corrupt Sanskrit, so that most of it is unintelligible. The substitution of *ī* for *e* in *śrīyo*, and perhaps in *Hīmapāla* also, points to the author of the inscription having been a Kaśmīrī.[1] The fourth line contains the

[1] Cf. above, pp. 138 and 219.

Sāhō Image Inscription.

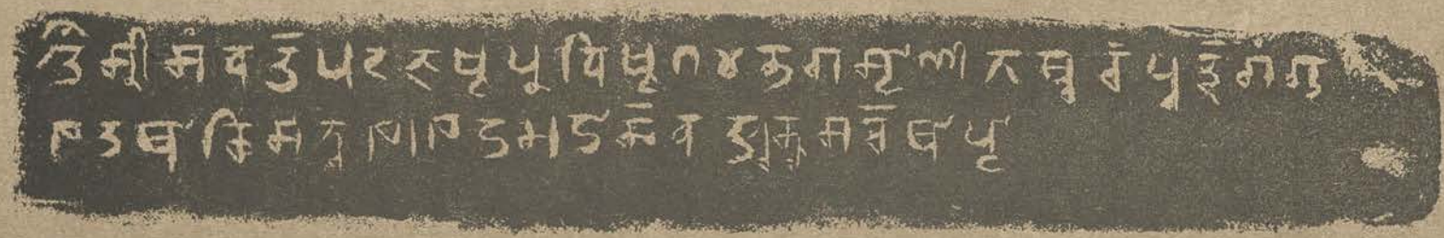


SCALE 1.

Markula Image Inscription.

SCALE ·75

Harsar Image Inscription.



SCALE ·75

word *Kaśmīra*, but it is not clear in what connection. The character is a late type of Śāradā. On the whole it is more similar to the Devāśeṣa of the Muhammadan period than to the Śāradā proper. We notice the *ta* with cursive loop and the *ra* with triangular foot. It will also be seen that post-consonantic *ra* in *Bhadrāvakāṣā* is expressed by a downward stroke to the right. Judging from the script, I feel inclined to assign the inscription to the Muhammadan period.

TEXT.

ओं ठकुर-महश्री-हीमपालन। श्री-महादेवि-मर्कुल उदो (l. 2) पित्तु: पुत्र-पौत्रेण सर्वकाल तिष्ठति देव . श्रीयो भवति। (l. 3) तं म शुभ क्षत्र (l. 4) श्री-कश्मीर यदवन्त। मारनिरङ्ग मर्कुलदेवि उपनि (l. 5) ओं स्वस्ति: ॥ अस्य देवतोरीरि मूल्या घटापने दी सहस ४६४५ (l. 6) सोमडिराथ भद्रावकाषापुरी: पञ्चमाणक-जीणक्रेन घटिता

No. 49.—HARSAR IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXIX *b* AND XL.)

The village of Harsar is situated 10 miles from Brahmor on the road leading into Lahul by the Kukti Pass. The village temple contains an inscribed brass image of Śiva. The idol is remarkable in that it consists of a bust resting on a base. It is two-armed. The right hand holds a rosary and the left hand a fruit.[1]

The inscription consists of two lines measuring $8\frac{7}{8}''$ and $6\frac{1}{8}''$ in length. It is dated in the Śāstra year 58 and, judging from the character, must belong to the Muhammadan period. It will be noticed that *ra* as second member of ligatures is throughout rendered by a downward stroke to the right, even in the word *śrī* in which the upward stroke to the left is usually preserved. The *ja* has lost its wedge and the sign for the cerebral sibilant with top-stroke is used to render the dental sibilant.

The language is the local vernacular in which we find the genitive case expressed by the termination *-rā*, *-rī*, *-rē*. The word *Bhagasyāṇī* in the first line is evidently a caste-name. Can it be derived from Bhāgsu? In the second line we find the name of the village as Arsar.

TEXT.

श्रीं श्री-संवत्[2] ५८ जष्ठ[3] प्रविष्ट १४ भगस्याणी नथ रे पुत्रे गंगु-(l. 2)ए तथा किसनुए। एह महादेव अडसरे थाप्या

TRANSLATION.

In the year of bliss 58 the 14th of Jyeṭh have the Bhagasyāṇī Nathu's sons Gaṅgu and Kisanu erected this Mahādēv at Arsar.

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[1] The same attributes occur on the Sālhī stone. Cf. above, p. 217.

[2] The stroke over *ta* is evidently not meant for a vowel mark, but for a *virāma*.

[3] Read ज्येष्ठ or जेष्ठ.

No. 50.—BRAHMOR ROCK INSCRIPTION.

About 1½ miles from Brahmor on the main road leading to Chambā by way of Khaṇī, a rivulet known by the name of Brahmāṇī Dēvī flows down the mountain slope and crosses the road. On a boulder at the side of this streamlet we notice some rock-cut *liṅgas* and three figures of deities. They represent the four-armed Dēvī slaying the buffalo-demon, Śiva standing in front of his bull with a trident in one and a fruit in the other hand, and Gaṇeśa holding in his four hands a rosary, a hatchet, a vessel of sweetmeats and some other object. It is interesting to note that these are exactly the three deities whose idols were erected at Brahmor by Meru-varman about A.D. 700 and are worshipped there up to the present day. (Cf. above p. 138). The *liṅgas* scattered among the Brahmor temples are also represented in these rock-carvings, but we find no representation of Narsiṅgh whose temple is no less conspicuous than those of Śiva Maṇimahēs and Lakṣaṇā Dēvī. We know from Yugākara's copper-plate grant (No. 14) that the idol of Narsiṅgh was consecrated some two and a half centuries after the three just-mentioned. From its absence on the Brahmāṇī boulder I infer that these rock-cut figures date back to a time intervening between A.D. 700 and 950.

No. 29. Rock-carvings near Brahmor.

Over the figures, and separated from them by a deep horizontal groove, there is a Tibetan rock-inscription in one line, 3′ 10″ long, consisting of eleven large-sized letters from 3″ to 6½″ in height. The letters are deeply cut and distinct, except the last one which is broken by a rent in the stone. Mr. A. H. Francke of the

Moravian Mission, has favoured me with the following transcript and translation of this inscription.

TEXT.

ཁྱུང་པོ་རྗོ་ནུ་འཕགས་བ[ས] *Khyuṅ-po-jo-nu-'phags-ba[s]*

TRANSLATION.

"The august younger prince of the Garuḍa Lords."

No. 30. Tibetan rock inscription near Brahmor.

Mr. Francke adds the following note :—

"A noble family called ཁྱུང་པོ་རྗེ། "Garuḍa Lords" is still in existence in the neighbourhood of Shigartse or Gyangtse, as I am told. They derive their name from the figure of a Garuḍa ཁྱུང་། on a rock in the vicinity of their castle. ཀུ is the same as ཀུ་པོ། "younger brother." བ is an orthographical mistake for ཝ།"

In a subsequent letter Mr. Francke explained that the article ཨ or ཨོ for ཝ or ཝོ only occurs in the oldest Tibetan inscriptions, belonging to the period A.D. 650-800. The Brahmor rock inscription may, therefore, quite well date back to the 11th or 12th century of our era. In any case, I feel inclined to assume that the inscription is later than the rock-cut figures. Over the inscription, however, there are some shallow and indistinct carvings apparently representing *chortens* (མཆོད་རྟེན།), which seem to be contemporaneous with the epigraph.

I may note here that at the village of Gosaṇ below Brahmor there are some more rock inscriptions in Tibetan. But these consist merely of the usual magic formulas (Skr. *dhāraṇī*), the endless repetition of which is a characteristic of the Buddhism of Tibet. One in large letters (8″ to 1′) is the well-known ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པདྨེ་ཧཱུྃ "*Oṁ*, the jewel in the lotus, *huṁ*." Next we find an inscription of three *akṣaras*, measuring 2′ to 3″, which I read ཨོཾ་ཡ་དྷ. They merely represent three sacred syllables. Finally we find in somewhat smaller letters the formula ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་སཏྭ three times repeated. It is an invocation to the Bodhisattva Vajra-sattva.

In the Candrabhāgā valley Tibetan inscriptions are more common, but in general they contain nothing but formulas like those just quoted. An epigraph[1] of historical interest was discovered in 1907 at Markulā by the late Miss J. E. Duncan. It speaks of a Mar-skul Monastery (སྨར་སྐུལ་ དགོན་པ). From this it appears that at one time there existed at Markulā a lamaistic convent, though it may simply refer to the temple of Markulā Dēvī which is still indicated by that name. Mr. Francke informs me that the Buddhists of British Lahul perform pilgrimages to that place as well as to Trilōknāth. In his opinion the inscription referred to is not more than three hundred years old, and may be much more recent. It seems therefore that in lower Lahul Buddhism has had to recede before Hinduism.

Postscript.—Mr. A. H. Francke has favoured me with the following additional note on the Brahmor rock-inscription :—

"My researches last year have convinced me that the Brahmor inscription may be one of the most ancient (between 700 and 900) which we have in Tibetan. A prolonged study of Tibetan inscriptions has shown me that, although the forms of the Tibetan *dBucan* consonants have almost remained stable, the treatment of the vowel signs has undergone certain interesting changes.

In my article on a Lhasa inscription of 822 A.D. (prepared for the *Epigraphia Indica*), I made the following remark with regard to the *o* vowel sign : "The *o* vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant base, with the exception of *ch*, *kh*, and *y*, where it is joined to the middle." In inscriptions and documents of the 11th century, we find the *o* vowel sign only in rare cases on the left upper corner, and in the 15th century it is joined to the right upper end of the consonant base. After that time, it is generally at some distance from the consonant base.

The u vowel sign.—From the 7th to the 14th century, the *u* vowel sign was joined to the right lower end of the consonant base. Now it is found at some distance below it.

The perpendicular position of the subjoined *y* below the *kh* is also in favour of my view that the Brahmor inscription is of early origin. This form of the *y* is found only in the most ancient Tibetan epigraphs. In the 11th century, the subjoined *y* is between perpendicular and horizontal, and from the 15th century onwards its position below the consonant base is horizontal.

To fix the date of a Tibetan inscription on palæographical grounds, it is of course safer, if the data required can be drawn from a long inscription. But, short as the Brahmor inscription is, its epigraphical peculiarities point distinctly to an ancient origin.

Then, what historical evidence can be adduced, to explain the existence of Tibetan princes in the valley of Brahmapura in early times ? First of all, the Vaṁśāvalī (verse 48) of Chambā speaks of the conquest of Brahmor by Kīras, during the reign of Lakṣmī-varman, one of the early historical rulers of the country.[2] I feel much inclined to identify the Kīras with the Tibetans whose kings were often designated by the word *khri*, throne. There was a dynasty of *khri rGyal*, later

[1] A transcript and translation of this inscription by the Rev. A. H. Francke is given in Appendix III.

[2] Cf. above, pp. 86 and 92.

khri Sultans, in the Suru valley, there were whole dynasties of Khris among the ancient Tibetan kings, and some of the greatest Tibetan conquerors, *Khri-srong-lde btsan*, *Khri-lde gtsug-mes ag-thsoms*, and *Khri-btsong lde-btsan*, have the word *khri* in their names. This word is pronounced *Khri*, not *Ṭhi*, by the nearest Tibetan neighbours of Chambā and Kashmir, the people of Suru and Purig. During the wars of those times, certain unspecified tracts of India are claimed by the Tibetan historians to have been conquered by their kings. Not only this, but the Chinese historians (*Thangshu*) when speaking of the Tibetan conquests of those times, mention a country of *Polomen* as having been held by the Tibetans. The word *Polomen*, which was identified with Brāhmaṇ, was believed to signify India in general. I feel, however, more inclined to identify it with the Buḍhaḷ valley, *i.e.* with the Brahmor district. I am fully convinced that Brahmapura, the ancient Chambā State, was known to the Chinese of the 7th and subsequent centuries. We not only find the name of the capital, *Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo*, Brahmapura, mentioned in Hiuen Tsang,[1] but also in other works which describe the 'Empire of the Eastern women.' According to them, this empire was situated between Khotan, Tibet, Ladakh, and Brahmapura, and grave-finds in Eastern Ladakh testify to the correctness of this statement. This empire comprised Ruthog, Guge, and the eastern part of Ladakh.

The name *Khyung-po*, Garuḍa-Lord, points exactly to the same period of Tibetan history, when this *Bonpo* name was common among Tibetan officials.

That the Brahmor district was once in the hands of the Tibetans, is also testified to by the modern Tibetan inscriptions which were discovered by Dr. Vogel at Ghosan, in the vicinity of Brahmor. They were carved by Tibetan pilgrims who would not have come to this rather out-of-the-way place, if they had not some historical connection with it.

TEXT.

(three times.)

The first is an invocation of Vajra-sattva, as pointed out by Dr. Vogel, and the second is the ordinary *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* formula. What specially indicates the recent date of these inscriptions, in particular, is the elaborate treatment of the nasal signs above the *o* and *u*. They cannot be more than 200 years old at the utmost. But they are probably of more recent origin."

[1] Hiuen Tsiang (*Si-yu-kī* transl. Beal Vol. I. p. 198) locates Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo 300 li or about 50 miles north of Hardvār which would take us in the upper valley of the Jamnā. Brahmor lies about 250 miles or 1500 li to the north-west of Hardvār. It is possible that Hiuen Tsiang refers to Brahmapura in the Rāvī valley, but then it must be admitted that his distance and bearing are singularly inaccurate. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography* pp. 355 f.) identifies Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo with Garhwāl and Kumaon, which lie east of Hardvār; but here no place of the name of Brahmor is known to exist.—[J. Ph. V.]

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF ŚĀRADĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

(Excluding those found in Chambā.)

A.—*Kāṅgṛā* (*Trigarta*).

Two stone slab inscriptions in the temple of Baijnāth at Baijnāth (Kīragrāma). They are dated Śaka-saṁvat 1126 and Śāstra-saṁvat 80 (A.D. 1204) Jyaiṣṭha *śu. ti.* 1, in the reign of Rājā Jayaccandra of Jālandhara (or Trigarta), and record the building of a temple dedicated to Śiva Vaidyanātha. Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. V, pp. 178 ff.; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 97-118; Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX (1891) p. 154, and my notes *J. R. A. S.* for 1907, p. 405, and *A. R. A. S.*, 1905-06, pp. 17 ff.

Stone slab inscription from the *pūjārī's* house in the temple of Baijnāth at Baijnāth, now Lahore Museum No. 163.

Defaced stone slab inscription in the temple of Sidhnāth at Baijnāth. Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. V., pp. 179 f.

Pillar inscription in the temple of Sidhnāth at Baijnāth.

Jaina stone image inscription in the temple of Indreśvar in Kāṅgṛā City. It is dated Śāstra-saṁvat 30. Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. V., p. 164; and Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 120.

Stone slab inscription in the temple of Vajreśvarī or Mātā Dēvī in Bhavan, a suburb of Kāṅgṛā City. Only the first two lines and part of the third line (*viz.*, the *maṅgala* and the first stanza) are in Śāradā, the rest is in Nāgarī. It is dated in the reign of Rājā Sansār Cand, I (Śkr. Saṁsāra-candra) of Kāṅgṛā and in that of Muḥammad Sayyid, Emperor of Delhi (A.D. 1433-1446). Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. V., pp. 167 f., and Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 190-195.

Brass Viṣṇu statuette inscription from Fatehpur, Kāṅgṛā District, now Lahore Museum. It is dated Śāstra-saṁvat 23; the century cannot be determined. Cf. *A. R. A. S.* for 1904-05, p. 109.

Stone slab inscription from the Kāṅgṛā Fort, now preserved in the Lahore Museum. Most of the lettering is obliterated. The date, if any, is lost. Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. V, p. 164, and *A. R. A. S.* for 1905-06, p. 14. The date assigned to it by Cunningham is too early.

B.—*Kuḷū* (*Kulūta*).

Stone slab inscription at entrance of temple of Saṁdhyā Dēvī at Jagatsukh. It is dated Śāstra-saṁvat 4 (?) in the reign of Mahārājā Udhran (read Urdhan) Pāl. Cf. *A. R. A. S.* for 1903-04, pp. 264 f., and Harcourt, *Kooloo*, p. 201.

Wooden board inscription on the temple of Hiḍimbā or Hiṛmā Dēvī at Ḍhuṅgrī near Manālī. It is dated Śāstra-saṁvat 29 (A.D. 1553), Jēṭh pra. 20 in the reign of Rājā Bahādur Siṅgh of Kuḷū and records the construction of that temple. Cf. *A. R. A. S.* for 1903-04, p. 264; and Harcourt, *Kooloo*, pp. 322 ff.

Copper-plate inscription in possession of Paṇḍit Mohan Lal of Chambā, now on loan Bhuri Singh Museum, Chambā, B 16. It is dated Śāstra-saṁvat 35 (A.D. 1559), Kārttika *śu. ti.* 11, in the reign of Bahādur Siṅgh of Kuḷū and records a grant of land to Paṇḍit Ramāpati, the son of Paṇḍit Surānand and *guru* to the Rājā of Chambā. Cf. *A. R. A. S.* for 1903-04, pp. 261 ff., plate LXXI.

Rock inscription in two (?) lines near the gate of the *dharmsālā* of Nirmaṇḍ on the Satluj. The character is doubtful.

C.—*Maṇḍī State.*

Stone slab inscription in the temple of Trilōknāth in Old Maṇḍī opposite Maṇḍī City. It is dated Śaka-saṁvat 1442, Kali 4622 (A.D. 1520), Bhādrapada . . . . . and records the foundation of that temple by Suratrāṇa-Dēvī (Sulṭān Dēvī).

Satī pillar inscriptions at Maṇḍī City, the earliest dated Saṁvat 13 (A.D. 1637); they contain the dates of the death of the Rājās of Maṇḍī. Cf. Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, p. 123, pls. XXIX and XXX.

Copper statuette of Śiva in the palace of the Rājā in Maṇḍī City. Undated.

D.—*Kaśmīr and Jammū.*

Fragmentary stone inscription from Śrīnagar, now Lahore Museum No. 10. It is dated Śāstra-saṁvat 68 (A.D. 992-3) in the reign of queen Diddā.

Stone inscription (20″ by 20″ by 4½″) from the house of a Brāhmaṇ at Arigōm (Skr. Hāḍigrāma), *parganā* Nāgām. It records the construction of a brick *vihāra* of Lokanātha (Avalokiteśvara) by Rāma-deva the son of Kulla-deva, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been burnt down by King [Jaya-]siṁha. It is dated [Śāstra]-saṁvat 73, Mārga *śu. ti.* 5 which, if referred to the 43rd century of the Lokakāla, would correspond to Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 1197. Cf. Konow, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, No. 46, pp. 300-302.

Stone inscription (20″ by 20″) at Śrīnagar in the wall of a merchant's house below the second bridge. 13th (?) century. Cf. Marshall, *Note on archæological work in Kashmir*, p. 17.

Stone inscription[1] at Śrīnagar below the third bridge. Marshall, *Note*, p. 17.

Stone inscription at Khunmōh at the Bhuvaneśa spring. It is dated Kali 4530, Śāstra-saṁvat 4 (A.D. 1428), Mārgaśīrṣa *śu. ti.* 5, Friday, in the reign of Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn and records the building of a hermitage (*āśrama*) which was consecrated on that date. Cf. Marshall, *Note*, pp. 18-20.

Stone inscription built in the wall of a tank outside the village of Khunmōh, dated [Śāstra-]saṁ[vat] 34 (?), Phā[lguna] *śu. ti.* 7.

Stone inscription built in the wall of a tank outside the village of Khunmōh, dated [Śāstra-]saṁ[vat] 39, Vai[śākha] *śu. ti.* 7.

Stone inscription on a grave in the cemetery surrounding the Ziyārat of Bahāu-d-dīn at Haraparbat near Śrīnagar dated Saṁvat 60,[2] Śrā[vaṇa] *va. ti. pra.* Friday, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh of Kaśmīr (A.D. 1487-1537) and is the epitaph of Sa'īd Khān, the son of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (of Jaunpur). Cf. Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XL, p. 9; Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 153, and Marshall, *Note*, p. 18.

Stone inscription from Vijbrōr (Bij Bihāra) dated in the reign of Rājā Rāma-deva (A.D., 1252-73). Cf. Marshall, *Note*, pp. 20 f.

Stone inscription from Vijbrōr (Bij Bihāra) dated [Śaka-(?)] saṁvat 58, Vaiśākha *śu. ti.* 7 in the reign of Rājā Rāja-deva. Cf. Marshall, *Note*, p. 21.

Stone inscription from Vijbrōr (Bij Bihāra) in the bath of the Ziyārat of Naṣību-d-dīn Auliyā. It is dated saṁvat (?) Mārgaśīrṣa *śu. ti.* 4. Cf. Marshall, *Note*, p. 21.

Stone inscription from Vijbrōr (Bij Bihāra) in the northern wall of the mosque of Naṣību-d-dīn Auliyā. It is dated Śāstra-saṁvat 53, Śrāvaṇa, *śu. ti.* 10 in the reign of Yaskara-deva. Cf. Marshall, *Note*, p. 22.

Cave inscription[3] at Lodu not far from Sar. It consists of three lines and is undated. It mentions a *sthapati-putra* and ends *hato aparaḥ*.

Stone inscription at Pārepur, 7 miles from Krōrus. It appears to be dated Saṁvat 526, Vai[śākha] *śu. ti.* 15.

Stone (?) image inscription at Lasiṭyāl, 1 mile from Krorus. It is dated Saṁvat 54, Vai-[śākha] *śu. ti.* 3.

Stone inscription from a ruined temple at Babor (Skr. Babbāpura) 17 miles east of Jammū. The lettering is almost entirely obliterated. Cf. my note *Babor; Babbāpura* in *J. R. A. S.* for 1907, p. 405.

Defaced *liṅga* stand inscription at Kaṣṭavāṛ or Kiṣṭvāṛ (Skr. Kāṣṭhavāṭa).

Two image slab inscriptions in a cave near Bhadarvāh (Skr. Bhadrāvakāśa).

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[1] It is uncertain whether this inscription is written in Śāradā.

[2] According to Professor Kielhorn *saṁvat* 60 stands for Śaka 1406, in which case the date would correspond to Friday, the 9th July, A.D. 1484.

[3] For information regarding this and the following two inscriptions I am indebted to Dr. Konow, late Epigraphist to the Government of India.

E.—*Ladakh.*[1]

Rāṇā image inscription near the village of Drās. It is undated and mentions the Bodhisattvas Lokeśvara and Maitreya. It consists of seven lines. Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 393; Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 381 and plate XXX; and Francke, *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907), p. 52.

Maitreya (Byams-pa) image inscription[2] near the village of Drās. It is dated in the 7th year, probably of the Śāstra era, and consists of fifteen lines partly obliterated. Cf. Cunningham, *ibidem.*

Sanskrit inscription in the hall of the Chigtan Monastery. Five lines. Cf. Francke, *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907), p. 52.

Two rock inscriptions, containing only the word *Śrī*, at the bridge near Khalatse. Cf. Francke, *Z. D. M. G.* for 1907, pp. 595 f.

F.—*Lahul.*

Stone image slab inscription at Chos-skor near Sisu in the Candrā Valley (British Lahul).

G.—*Gandhāra.*[3]

Rock inscription from Ghagai, north-east of Badwan in Swāt, now Lahore Museum No. 94. It is dated [Śāstra-]saṁvat 9 (A.D. 1033), Jyaiṣṭha, in the reign of Hammīra[4] (?Mas'ūd, the son of Maḥmūd of Ġhaznī).

Stone inscription from Dal Mahat on the Indus bank beyond Torbela, Hazāra District, now Lahore Museum No. 108. It is dated [Śāstra-]saṁvat 84, Śrāvaṇa *va. ti.* 5.

Defaced stone inscription from Barikot in Upper Swāt, now Lahore Museum No. 119. It is dated in the reign of Jaya-pāla.

Stone inscription from Rānīgaṭ (?) in Khudu'khēl territory, now Lahore Museum No. 25 A.

Defaced rock inscription from Tarwara in Maidān Banda and not far from Kōtā on the right bank of the Panjkōrā, now Lahore Museum No. 76.

Defaced rock inscription from Jalālābād (?) in Afghānīstān, now Lahore Museum No. 153.

H.—*Panjāb Plains.*

Fragmentary stone slab inscription from Sabz Piṇḍ, near the village of Miānī, Shāhpur District, now Lahore Museum No. 159.

Stone slab inscription from a well at the village of Pālam, 12 miles south-west of Delhi City, recovered at Bohar, Rohtak District, and now placed in the Delhi Museum of Archæology (Cat. No. B. 3). Only the concluding vernacular portion of the inscription (part of line 21 and the whole of line 22) is in Śāradā. The rest, composed in Sanskrit, is in Nāgarī. The inscription is dated Vikrama-saṁvat, 1337, Śrāvaṇa *va. ti.* 13, Wednesday, corresponding either to the 26th June A.D. 1280 or to the 13th August A.D. 1281, in the reign of Sulṭān Ġhiyāthu-d-dīn Balban. Cf. *Āṯhāru-ṣ-ṣanādid.* Cawnpur, 1904, last chapter, pp. 73 ff.; Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Dehli*, London, 1871, pp. 136 f.; *J. A. S. B.* Vol. XLIII (1874), Part I, pp. 104 ff. with facsimile, and *Delhi Museum Catalogue*, pp. 18 ff.

APPENDIX II.

THE RĀJĀS OF BALOR (VALLĀPURA).

The following list is drawn from a Pedigree (A) or Bansaulī (Skr. *vaṁśāvalī*) in the possession of the descendant of the family priests of the Rājās of Balor, which I had copied at Basōhlī in October 1906. In some cases I have added between brackets the names as they occur in another

[1] In various places of Ladakh cremation tablets with the Buddhist creed in Śāradā have been found.

[2] A third stele carved on four sides has an inscription in five lines in a character which I am unable to identify.

[3] Under this name are comprised the Peshāwar district and surrounding Hill tracts.

[4] Hammīra (*i.e.* Amīr) is the title by which Maḥmūd of Ġhaznī is indicated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, but it is also used for his successors. Cf. Stein, *Rājat.* VII 47, footnote.

Pedigree (B) obtained from the same source. The Bansaulī in question is in the vernacular, but appears to have been rendered—probably by an ignorant person—from an original in Sanskrit which has become lost. This I infer from such forms as *Guṇākhya* and *Trailokākhya* in which the second member is evidently the word *ākhyā* (name). I have omitted the first portion of the pedigree which is mythological and derives the origin of the Balauriā Rājās from Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. They belong, therefore, to the Lunar Race. The document gives in general the mere names but adds in a few cases particulars which will be noted beneath:—

1. Paitṛ Pāl.
2. Mahī Pāl.
3. Gagan Pāl.
4. Tribhuvan Pāl.
5. Kūr Pāl.
6. Thān Pāl.
7. Bhōg Pāl.
8. Nāg Pāl.
9. Simbh (Simh ?) Pāl.
10. Sōj Pāl.
11. Satyādhik (Pāl). 2nd Rādhik.
12. Lakṣmaṇ (Pāl).
13. Śakya Pāl.
14. Mān Śakya (B. Mān Sakat), 2nd Sōm Pāl.
15. Dēv Śakya (B. Dēv Sakat).
16. Bhōg Śakya.
17. Apar Śakya.
18. Guṇākhya (B. Guṇ Rāy).
19. Trailōkākhya (B. Trailō Rāy), c. 1028-9 and 1041 A.D.
20. Kalaś Pāl (or Kalaś Rāy), c. 1087-88 A.D.
21. Tuṅg Pāl. 2nd Tōṣ Pāl.
22. Thakan Pāl.
23. Mahī Pāl.
24. Aruṇ Mal (B. Raṇ Mall), c. 1160 A.D.
25. Ajay Pāl (B. Ajē Pāl), c. 1169 A.D.
26. Pṛthvī Pāl.
27. Mahīpati Pāl (B. Mahī Pāl).
28. Hari Pāl.
29. Vīnī Pāl.
30. Uday Pāl (B. Udē Pāl).
31. Siddh Pāl (B. Sindhu Pāl).
32. Bhāg Siṅgh (B. Bhāgsi Pāl).
33. Jayarath Pāl (B. Jumūrt Pāl).
34. Añcan Pāl.
35. Bhuāl Pāl.
36. Daulat Pāl.
37. Gajēndar Pāl.
38. Kṛṣṇa Pāl, 1595 A.D.
39. Kēhar Pāl.
40. Bhūpati Pāl (B. Bhauvat Pāl), 1598 A.D.
41. Sangrām Pāl, c. 1616, 1627 (?), 1640 (?), 1648 A.D.
42. Handāl (or Hindōl) Pāl, brother of No. 41.
43. Kṛpāl Pāl, 1685 (?) A.D.
44. Dhīraj Pāl (B. Dhīryya Pāl), 1708 A.D.
45. Mēdinī Pāl.
46. Jīt Pāl.
47. Amṛt Pāl, 1774 A.D.
48. Bijai Pāl, 1782, 1789, 1791, 1796, 1806 (?) A.D.

49. Mahēndar Pāl, 1806 (?) A.D.
50. Bhūpēndar Pāl.
51. Kalyāṇ Pāl, died about 1836 A.D.

It is definitely stated in the Bansaulī that Paitṛ Pāl was the first to assume the cognomen Pāl. For this reason I start the list with him, though there is nothing to prove that either he or his seventeen successors were historical persons. The names ending on Śakya (14-17) look particularly suspicious.

It is said that Mahī Pāl, the son of Paitṛ Pāl, ruled at Māyāpurī near Haridvār and Almōṛā. Thān Pāl left Māyāpurī for Kuḷū and Bhōg Pāl settled at Balor, so that he was in reality the first of the Balauriā Rājās.

Satyādhik had a younger brother named Rādhik who established himself in Bhadarvāh. Sōm Pāl, the younger brother of Mān Śakya, settled at Sumaṛtā and became the ancestor of the Sumaṛiā Rājpūts. Mān Śakya himself is said to have removed his capital to Basōhḷī (or Bisōlī), after having killed a Rāṇā Bisō who apparently had been the ruler of that place.

So far the information has been drawn solely from the Bansaulī and can, therefore, only be accepted with the greatest reserve. It is possible that originally the Rājās of Balor were related to the ancient rulers of Kuḷū who likewise were distinguished by the cognomen Pāl. It is equally plausible that Bhadarvāh was at one time governed by a younger branch of the Balauriā house, as later on is also stated with regard to Bhaḍu. The mention of Sumaṛtā and the Sumaṛiā Rājpūts is of special interest, as we may connect those names with the Saumaṭikas mentioned in two of the Chambā copper-plate inscriptions (Nos. 24 and 25) among the opponents of Sāhilla-varman. These references make it very probable that Sumaṛtā was the ancient name of the Balor State. The locality is also mentioned in inscription No. 47 in connection with Bhadarvāh.

Next follow three names which we may assume to be historical, though their order requires correction. In the course of the present work (pp. 71 f.) I have pointed out that the Trailōkākhya of the list may be identified with a ruler Trailokya-deva in whose reign three Chambā fountain inscriptions (Nos. 20, 21 and 22) are dated and who must have lived in the second quarter of the 11th century. It may be inferred from those inscriptions that his rule extended over Curāh.

Kalaś Pāl or Rāy (No. 20) whose name follows that of Trailōkya,[1] must be the same as Kalaśa the son of Tukka who is twice mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (VII, 220 and 588) and is called lord of Vallāpura. Ananta of Kaśmīr (1028-1063), while leading an expedition against him, appears owing to his rashness to have got into a difficult position from which he was saved by the cunning of his minister, Haladhara. (Cf. also VII 270.)

Apparently as a result of Ananta's expedition, the ruler of Vallāpura had to acknowledge the supremacy of Kaśmīr. For we find the same Kalaśa the son of Tukka mentioned among the hill chiefs who visited Śrīnagar in the winter of 1087-8 in the reign of Kalaśa of Kaśmīr. Elsewhere it is stated (*Rājat.* VII 685) that Harṣa the son of Kalaśa had married a granddaughter of king Tukka, named Sugalā, who endeavoured to poison her husband, when he had been thrown into prison by his father Kalaśa in A.D. 1088.

It follows that Kalaś Pāl lived in the second half of the 11th century which agrees well with the date found for Trailōkya. The question, however, arises why we do not find the name of Tukka as that of Kalaś Pāl's predecessor. This difficulty, I believe, can be removed by assuming that Tukka's name occurs in the Bansaulī as Tung Pāl (No. 21) immediately after Kalaś Pāl and that these two names have been reversed.

The Bansaulī records that Tōṣ Pāl, the younger brother of Tuṅg Pāl, was the first ruler of Bhaḍu and consequently the first of the Bhaḍuvāl Rājās. The tradition that the little principality of Bhaḍu was ruled by a younger branch of the Balauriā house is most probably correct. It existed as a separate State till the end of the 18th century.[2]

We have pointed out (p. 75) that Aruṇ or Raṇ Mall (No. 24) is probably the same as Raṇa-pāla mentioned in one of the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscriptions (No. 31). Unfortunately its date cannot

[1] In *B* we find the names Karam Rāi and Takht Rāi between Trailōkya and Kalaś; but we may safely assume that they are due to interpolation.

[2] Cf. Forster, *Journey*, pp. 272 and 290. The descendants of the Bhaḍuvāl Rājās live now at Tilōkpur in the Kāṅgrā district and receive a pension from the Indian Government.

be fixed, but it cannot be far removed from A.D. 1160. Ajay or Ajē Pāl I have proposed to identify with the Ajaya-pāla of the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35) which is dated in the Kali year 4270 corresponding to A.D. 1169. (Cf. above pp. 76 f.)

Here I may mention that the Rājataraṅgiṇī gives the names of some other ancient rulers of Vallāpura, but none of them occurs in the Bansaulī. They are Padmaka and his son the Yuvarāja Ananda-rāja, who espoused the cause of the pretender Bhikṣācara (VIII 539, 542 and 547; cf. 622). Jajjala of Vallāpura, on the contrary, assisted Sussala in the defence of Śrīnagara in A.D. 1122 (VIII 1083, *cf.* above p. 108). Among the queens of Sussala who burnt themselves at his death we find Jajjalā from Vallāpura (VIII 1444). Finally it is stated (VIII 2452) that Sussala's son and successor Jayasiṁha deposed Vikrama-rāja[1] of Vallāpura and replaced him by Gulhaṇa. These references, in any case, prove that the Lohara kings of Kaśmīr exercised considerable influence in the affairs of Balor.

As regards the Bansaulī, it does not supply any additional information until we come to Daulat Pāl (No. 36). His name (Arabic *daulat* = wealth, fortune) indicates that we have now entered the Muhammadan period. About him it is stated that he had eight[2] sons who are all mentioned by name including one *Sartōṛā* by a woman of the Ṭhakkur caste. The eldest son Gajēndar Pāl succeeded, and the seven others were presented with *jāgīrs*.

His grandson Kṛṣṇa Pāl is mentioned as "Rāi Krishan Balāuriyah" among the thirteen hill chiefs who were subdued by Zain-Khān Koka and appeared at Akbar's court with valuable presents in the 25th year of his reign (A.D. 1595).[3] It will be seen that 426 years had then elapsed since 1169 the date of Ajay Pāl. For this period the Bansaulī has only twelve names which would give an average of 35½ years for each reign. This circumstance as well as the evidence of the Rājataraṅgiṇī leaves no doubt that for this period the Bansaulī is incomplete. For the following two centuries, on the contrary, the Pedigree is reliable and contains a great deal more additional information than in the preceding part. Besides, several data are supplied by documents in the Chambā archives, and by copper-plates both in Chambā and in the former Balor (Basōhlī) State.

It is not known, when the capital was transferred from Balor to Basōhlī on the Rāvī. According to the Vaṁśāvalī this event took place several generations before Trailōkya and Kalaśa. This is clearly impossible, as in the Rājataraṅgiṇī the State is invariably referred to under the name of Vallāpura, *i.e.*, Balor. We know, moreover, from Albērūnī that in his time (c. A.D. 1030) Balor was situated on the route from Kanauj to Kaśmīr. The ancient palace at Balor has architectural features (cusped arches) which show that it was built during the Muhammadan period. The gate and towers which remain of the old fortifications of the town are ascribed to Kṛṣṇa Pāl, who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Akbar.

Above the palace there is a masonry tank which, to judge from the style of decoration, also dates back to the Mughal period. It was completely rebuilt some twenty years ago. It is said to have contained a Nāgarī inscription with a date expressed in the Śāstra era, which was lost during repairs.

Balor possesses also a stone temple which, although very ruinous, is still used for worship. It is dedicated to Śiva under the name Bilvakeśvar or Harihar. The temple faces west and consists of a *maṇḍapa* and a sanctum, the latter containing a stone *liṅga*. Of the *maṇḍapa* only the north and part of the west wall are still standing. On the east side a rough low wall has been constructed of the old materials. Among these will be noticed a square slab with lotus rosette which must have been the central portion of the ceiling. Originally the roof of the *maṇḍapa* was supported by four pillars with plain round shafts, of which only that on the north-east is still standing; of the other three the bases are still *in situ*.

Nothing is known about the history of this temple. It is ascribed to the Pāṇḍavas and is said to have been destroyed by the troops of Bābar. But according to others, it collapsed some hundred and fifty years ago in the reign of Bhūpēndar Pāl. It is undoubtedly of great age.

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[1] Bansaulī *B* mentions a Vikramādit but places him between Kalaś Rāi and Raṇ Mall.

[2] The text says that he had eighteen sons, but enumerates only eight.

[3] *Ma. āsiru-l-umarā* (Bibl. Ind.) Vol. II, p. 367 and *Akbar-Nāmah* (Cawnpore ed.) Vol. III, p. 390

[4] *India*, Vol. I. p. 205.

[5] On Balor, cf. Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 84.

Bhūpati (or Bhauvat) Pāl, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa Pāl is said to have been an exceedingly brave and powerful man. In proof of his physical strength it is alleged that he was able to rub out the letters of a rupee with his fingers. He conquered Kaṣṭvāṛ and brought from there the *liṅga* of Nīlakaṇṭh which is still worshipped at Basōhlī. He planted at Kaṣṭvāṛ "reversed cedars" which were still extant at the time when the Bansaulī was written. It is stated that, owing to the back-biting of Jagat Siṅgh of Nūrpur, Bhūpati Pāl was kept a prisoner by the kings (*pātsāh*) of Delhi for eighteen years. On his return he made Basōhlī (or Bisōlī) his capital, after having slain a Rāṇā of the name of Bisō who held that place.[1] The name Bisō is probably invented to account for the name Bisōlī, but it is interesting to find here also a reference to a conflict between a Rājā and a Rāṇā, such as is met with in the history of every hill state of the Panjāb. The chronicler asserts that Bhūpati Pāl also plundered Nūrpur which perhaps means that he joined the imperial troops in one of their expeditions against that principality.

Bhūpati Pāl had two sons, Sangrām Pāl and Handāl (*B.* Hindōl) Pāl. The chronicle says that Sangrām Pāl, like his father before him, was imprisoned at Delhi and even ordered to be killed in consequence of the slander of his neighbour Jagat Siṅgh of Nūrpur. Quite possibly the tradition in both cases is only based on a compulsory stay of the two Balauriā Rājās at Delhi as hostages, according to the policy initiated by Akbar. It is explicitly stated that Sangrām Pāl's imprisonment took place when he was still young. In this connection the following anecdote is related. The *bēgams*, having heard the report of Sangrām's beauty, entreated the Emperor to allow him to enter the Harem so that they might be able to see him. The Emperor gave his permission on condition that he should be blind-folded. To this the *bēgams* objected as they wished to see his eyes also. The Emperor at last gave his consent and Sangrām Pāl was presented by the imperial ladies with jewels.

This account certainly does not point to a very rigorous confinement. The only pity is that exactly the same story is related of Pṛthvī Siṅgh of Chambā, the contemporary of Samgrām Pāl.[2]

The chronicle further records that Sangrām Pāl conquered Kaṣṭvāṛ, Gulēr and Kahlūr (*i.e.* Bilāspur on the Satluj) and that he "plucked their realm from the Chambiāls." We know that a controversy between Balor and Chambā did arise regarding the possession of the *parganā* of Bhalai. But this dispute was decided in favour of Chambā by an imperial delegate on the 5th March A.D. 1648,[3] as appears from a Persian document in the Chambā archives. In another document, undated, we find that Sangrām Pāl had built a fort in Chambā territory which was made the cause of a complaint before the imperial authorities. We shall do well, therefore, not to accept too readily the account of Sangrām Pāl's victories related in the local chronicle. The same authority holds, that he fought twenty-two battles and married twenty-two times.

The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī[4] contains the following passage regarding one Sangrām, undoubtedly Sangrām Pāl of Basōhlī, for which I am indebted to Mr. William Irvine :—

"The news of the killing of Rājā Mān reached me (*i.e.* Jahāngīr) at this place. I had appointed him to head the army that had been sent against the fort of Kāngra. When he arrived at Lahore, he heard that Sangrām, one of the *zamīndārs* of the hill-country of the Panjāb, had attacked his palace and taken possession of part of his province. Considering it of the first importance to drive him out, he went against him. As Sangrām had not the power to oppose him, he left the country of which he had taken possession and took refuge in difficult hills and places. Rājā Mān pursued him there, and in his great pride, not looking to the means by which he himself

[1] The same, as we saw above, is said of Mān Śakya, but there is reason to assume that Balor was still the capital in the first part of the Muhammadan period.

[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 93.

[3] Another date is supplied by a copper-plate issued by Sangrām Pāl apparently in the year 16 which would correspond to A.D. 1640. The reading, however, is uncertain. I may mention here that Miān Durgā, a Balauriā Rājpūt who lives at Balor, communicated to me the following dates said to be derived from copper-plate inscriptions. Bhūpat Pāl 74 (A.D. 1598), Sangrām Pāl 3 (A.D. 1627) and Kṛpāl Pāl 61 (A.D. 1685). I have not examined the charters from which these dates were obtained, but they fit in well with the established dates of their reigns. Miān Durgā is descended from Chandar Pāl, a younger brother of Bhūpati Pāl.

[4] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* translated by A. Rodgers, edited by H. Beveridge, p. 361. The event related here took place in the 11th year from Jahāngīr's accession or A.D. 1615-16. Rāja Mān was perhaps Mān Siṅgh of Gulēr.

could advance and retreat, came up to him with a small force. When Sangrām saw that he had no way to flee by, in accordance with this couplet—[1]

'In time of need when no [way of] flight is left,
The hand seizes the edge of the sharp sword.'

A fight took place, and according to what was decreed, a bullet struck Rājā Mān, and he delivered his soul to the Creator thereof. His men were defeated and a great number of them killed. The remainder, wounded, abandoned their horses and arms, and with a hundred alarms escaped half-dead."

Sangrām Pāl died without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother Handāl Pāl. The latter's son and successor was Kṛpāl Pāl, who in his turn was succeeded by his son Dhīraj Pāl. The Chambā archives contain a treaty in Tāṅkarī between Dhīraj Pāl and Udai Siṅgh of Chambā. It is dated the 21st Asuj *saṁbat* 84 corresponding to A.D. 1708.

The Bansaulī relates that Dhīraj Pāl's personal charm was so great that the daughter of Nawāb Dīna Bēg fell in love with him. But when the Nawāb, while in his *kachahrī*, ventured to mention the fact to the Rājā, the latter drew his sword and caused all present to turn pale. The story is of some interest as an illustration of a Balauriā Rājā's pretentions in matrimonial matters.

Dhīraj Pāl had two sons, Mēdinī Pāl and Ratan Pāl. The former who succeeded is mentioned in a Persian *sanad* dated in the 5th year of Ālamgīr II (A.D. 1758) and issued under the seal of Adīna Bēg. In this document it is said that the *pargaṇā* of Jūṇḍh with its seventeen castles was originally in the possession of Chambā, but had been made over to Mēdinī Pāl Balauriā owing to the unfaithfulness of Rājā Ugar Siṅgh of Chambā. It was now restored to the Chambā Rājā Umēd Siṅgh. It does not appear from the document whether Mēdinī Pāl was still alive at the time when it was issued.

Mēdinī Pāl had two sons, Jīt Pāl and Bikram Pāl. Jīt Pāl succeeded and was in his turn succeeded by his son Amṛt Pāl. From about the middle of the 18th century the Basōhlī State became more and more dependent on Jammū, then a rising power. It is interesting that this fact finds expression in the local chronicle which mentions that Jīt Pāl "used to assist" Mahārājā Dhrub Dēv of Jammū. Further on it says: "Amṛt Pāl reigned by the grace of the illustrious king of kings Raṇjīt Dēv [of Jammū]. Mahārājā Dhrub Dēv [and] Mahārājā Raṇjīt Dēv wrote with their own hand on a copper charter that it was a duty of their own house to maintain the *rāj* of the Balauriās, taking Gaṅgā and Yamunā [the sacred rivers Ganges and Jamnā] as witnesses. It is not known whether the plate is still extant. Thus the Balauriās were from of old favoured (*kṛpāpātra*) by the Mahārājās of Jammū and obedient (*tāba'dār*) to them." Amṛt Pāl married a daughter of Mahārājā Raṇjīt Dēv who was the real founder of the modern Jammū State. It is further stated that Amṛt Pāl obtained Bhaḍu through the favour of Raṇjīt Dēv and also the *pargaṇās* of Jhūṇḍ and Bhalai from Chambā, and Kaṭhāṛ (?) and Basantpur from Bhadarvāh. Local tradition adds to this: Nūrpur as far as the Cakkī including Shāhpur, and a part of Jasrōṭā, namely, Lakhanpur, Basantpur (already mentioned) and Thāiṁ, all on the right bank of the Rāvī.

How far we may accept the account of Amṛt Pāl's conquests, it is difficult to say. This much is certain that he invaded Chambā during the minority of Rājā Rāj Siṅgh and for a time held a large portion of that State, apparently including the capital.[2] A copper-plate exists issued by him to the astrologer of the Chambā Rājā in the Vikrama year 1831, Śaka 1696 (A.D. 1774). Amṛt Pāl's invasion of Chambā territory is also testified to by two of our inscriptions (Nos. 34 and 38) which were wantonly destroyed on that occasion.[3]

The Bansaulī describes Amṛt Pāl as an ideal ruler. "He protected his subjects like his own children. He made Brāhmaṇs, Kṣatriyas, Rājpūts and Vaiśyas persevere in their *sandhyā* prayers and persevered himself in *sandhyā* prayers, worship and sacred duty (*dharm*). The four castes took their food in the *caukā*. When the women came out of their houses and happened to meet a man, they at once turned their back to him." In this strain the chronicle praises his reign as the golden age.

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[1] Quotation from Sa'adi's *Gulistān*, 1st story :—

وقت ضرورت چو نماند گریز دست بگیرد سر شمشیر تیز

[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 99.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 224 and 239 f. The exact date of the copper-plate now in possession of Jyōtisī Chandarmaṇi is Vikrama 1831, Śaka 1696, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, Vṛṣa, pra. 15, corresponding to Wednesday, the 25th May A.D. 1774.

It appears indeed that the Basōhlī State enjoyed great prosperity in the days of Amṛt Pāl's sovereignty—a fact which, however, was probably less due to the uncommon virtues of that ruler than to political circumstances. It should be remembered that the authority of the kings of Delhi in the Panjāb, already weakened by the rise of the Sikhs, was crushed by Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1739. In the same year in which Nādir Shāh was assassinated (A.D. 1747) the Durānī king Aḥmad Shāh, made his first inroad in the Panjāb. The Mughal emperor now lost all power in the Land of the Five Rivers, which henceforth became the scene of the deadly struggle between Afghān and Sikh which lasted till the end of the century.

The unsettled state of affairs in the Plains made traders to Kaśmīr select the safer route through the lower Hills of the Panjāb. The petty hill chiefs levied toll on the merchandise carried through their territory and it is to this circumstance that both Basōhlī and Jammū owe their rise about the middle of the 18th century.[1]

The ruined palace of the Balauriā Rājās at Basōhlī—a building of a size excessive as compared with their limited territory and political power—still testifies to the prosperity they enjoyed in those days. It is ascribed to Amṛt Pāl and indeed the debased Indo-Mughal style of the edifice points to the 18th century as the period of its construction. It is well described by Vigne[2] in the following lines: "Bissuli contains a large but slovenly-looking bazaar; and the place would hardly, as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice, were it not for the baronial appearance of the palace of the old Rajahs, which I thought the very finest building of the kind that I had seen in the East. Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese-roofed balconies, and moat-like tank in front, presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red brick structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jamu, it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower range, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst, with reference to more general effect, the line of snowy peaks which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around it, are sufficient to render its relative position incomparably superior."

The Bansaulī ends the long account of Amṛt Pāl's piety by recording that, after an astrologer had foretold the day of his death, he made over his State to his son Bijai Pāl and left in the midst of the Hōlī festival for Benares where he died at the age of thirty-two.

After his death the fortunes of Basōhlī declined. The Sikhs, not content with ravaging the Panjāb plains, now penetrated into the lower hills and blackmailed the petty Rājās whose prosperity doubtless had stimulated their cupidity. Raṇjīt Dēv of Jammū managed for a time to save his State by his wise policy, but under his son and successor Brajrāj Dēv the town of Jammū was conquered and sacked by Hakīkat Siṅgh Kanheya and Mahā Siṅgh Sukarcakia.[3]

Basōhlī met a similar fate, but here it was Rāj Siṅgh, the warlike chief of Chambā who took the leading part. He had to avenge the insult suffered at the hands of Amṛt Pāl during his minority. He invaded and conquered Basōhlī in 1782, burnt the town, and restored the country only on payment of a *lākh* of rupees. The date of the conquest of Basōhlī is recorded on a stone let into the pavement in front of the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ at Chambā. It reads: *Saṁ. 58 Cēt pra. 1 Basauhlī da shaher fata kīta*, "On the 1st Cēt of the year 58 (A.D. 1782) the town of Basōhlī was conquered."

Shortly afterwards, the traveller George Forster passed Basōhlī on his journey through the lower hills which he performed in the disguise of a Muhammadan trader. He crossed the Rāvī on the 10th April 1783. "In the ferry-boat," he says,[4] "were two Sicques going to the fort of which a detachment they belonged to, had taken possession, in consequence of being called in to the assistance of the Bissouly [*viz.*, Basōhlī] chief. Though this be the invariable result of every connection made with the Sicques, the infatuated mountaineers never fail to seek their aid when engaged in war. A brodering chief [Rāj Siṅgh of Chambā] had invaded the Bissouly districts, plundered the inhabitants, and burned their villages, before any opposition was made. The Sicques

[1] Cf. Forster, *Journey*, Vol. I, pp. 218 and 283. Albērūnī, *India*, Vol. I, p. 205, mentions Ballāwar as situated on the road from Kanauj to Kaśmīr.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 171 f.

[3] Latif, *History of the Panjāb* (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 342 f. Forster, *Journey*, pp. 286 ff.

[4] *Journey*, Vol. I, p. 235; 2nd ed. pp. 270 ff.

were called in to repel the enemy, and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation, and refused to relinquish it." On his further journey through Basōhlī territory Forster was painfully struck by the dismal appearance of the country owing to the recent war.

The bone of contention between Basōhlī and Chambā was the territory of Bhalai and Jūṇḍh situated on the border of the two States. The Chambā archives contain a letter in Ṭāṅkarī in which Brajrāj Dēv of Jammū conveys to Rāj Siṅgh, on condition of service, these two *parganās* together with Bhāndal, Kihār and Ḍyuhr which evidently had remained occupied by Basōhlī since Amṛt Pāl's invasion of Chambā. It is dated the 15th Bhādōn of the Śāstra year 57 (A.D. 1781). In another Ṭāṅkarī document of the 18th Bhādōn of the Śāstra year 59 (A.D. 1783) we find the same statement. A third letter from Brajrāj Dēv dated the 20th Sāvan of the same year enjoins the officials of the *parganā* of Jūṇḍh to be obedient to Rājā Rāj Siṅgh. From these documents it appears that in those days both Basōhlī and Chambā regarded Jammū as their suzerain.

Notwithstanding this, we find that after Rāj Siṅgh's death in 1794 Bijai Pāl again made inroads into the frontier districts of Bhalai and Jūṇḍh with the result that Jīt Siṅgh of Chambā, who had succeeded his father, retaliated by invading Basōhlī and, after conquering the country, restored it on payment of war indemnity. A Ṭāṅkarī letter dated the 5th Sāvan, Śāstra 72 (A.D. 1796) in which Bijai Pāl promises Jīt Siṅgh to pay by instalments the amount due to Chambā probably relates to the facts just mentioned.

In this connection I must also mention two copper-plate grants issued by "Vijayapāla, the son of Amṛtapāla" and now preserved at Basōhlī. One is dated Vikrama 1846 or Śaka 1711 corresponding to A.D. 1789 and the other Vikrama 1848 corresponding to A.D. 1791. They are in the possession of Paṇḍit Hiru of Basōhlī.

Bijai Pāl was succeeded by his son Mahēndar Pāl who concluded a compact with Jīt Siṅgh of Chambā in the Śāstra year 82 (A.D. 1806) which is preserved in the Chambā archives. It is noteworthy that in it the Basōhlī chief has only the title "Miān" which perhaps indicates that his father was then still alive.

He was succeeded by his son Bhūpēndar Pāl whose son and successor Kalyāṇ Pāl—the last of the Balauriās—died childless at the age of twenty-two years. Vigne notes that, when he first passed through Basōhlī,[1] the Rājā was dead. One of his Rāṇīs, a Maṇkōṭī princess, who survived him, lived in the palace for thirty years after his death, receiving a pension of Rs. 1,500 a year from Jammū. The ancient Balor State was included in the *jāgīr* of Sucēt Siṅgh, the Rājā of Rāmnagar and younger brother of the Jammū Rājā Gulāb Siṅgh. At present Basōhlī is the head-quarters of a Taḥṣīldār. The only monument of the by-gone glory of the Balauriā princes is the old palace which their rivals and final conquerors, the Rājās of Jammū, have allowed to fall into ruins. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

In the collection of miniatures in the Lahore Museum the Balauriās are well represented, as it contains portraits of Bhūpati Pāl, Handāl Pāl, Kṛpāl Pāl, Mēdinī Pāl, Jīt Pāl, Amṛt Pāl, Mahēndar Pāl and Bhūpēndar Pāl.

[1] *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 172.

APPENDIX III.

MARKULA SLAB INSCRIPTION.[1]

By the Rev. A. H. Francke.

TEXT.

(གྱོན)

1. ༄༅། ཨོཾ་སྦ་སྟི། ལྷ་རྒྱོན་ (གྱོན) གྱིས་ (རྨ་) གོས་སྐུ་འདོག་དཀར། རྫོགས་སངས་རྒྱས་
2. ཀྱིས་དབུ་ལ་ (རྒྱན) ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་སྤྱན་གྱིས་འགྲོ་ལ་གཟིགས། སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་
3. ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།། དྲི་མེད་རྒྱོན་ (བྲལ་) པ་ཏ་འི་གདན་ལ་བཞུགས། ཞལ་གཅིག་
4. ཕྱག་དྲུག་ཞབས.....(སྟོབས) མཛད། འགྲོ་དྲུག་འཁོར་བའི་གནམ་འདྲེན་མཛད་པའི་
5. རང་འབྱུང་འཕགས་པའི་སྐུལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་མ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཕག་མོའི་
6. འཕགས་མ་ (མ་མི) དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡུམ་མཆོག་དྲག་མོའི་གཟུགས་ཅན་མ། རྨུགས་བྱེད་རེངས་
7. བྱེད་མྱོས་བྱེད་དག་ལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྣམ་གཉིས་རྩོ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།
8. རླུང་.....དགེ་ལ་སྐབ་ཕྱིར་.....
9. གསུམ་མ་ཎི་སྟོང་ཕྲག་གསུམ། མི་འགྱུར་རྡོ་ལ་བཞངས་ཡོད། ཨེ་མ་ཧོ། གཞན་ཡང་
10. རེ་ཕག་འཕགས་པ་མར་སྐུལ་གཉིས་ཀའི་བསྐོར་.....མ་ཎིའི་འཁོར་ལོ་.....
11. .....བཞེངས། མར་སྐུལ་དགོན་པར་དགོན་པ་གསར་དུ་བཞངས།།
12. དགེ་འདིས་འགྲོ་ཀུན་སངས་རྒྱས་མྱུར་ཐོབ་
13. ཤོག་བཀྲ་ཤིས།།

Notes.

1. 3. *rgyon*, instead of classical *gyon*; 1. 2. the instrumental wrongly instead of the genitive case; 2. *spyan*, instead of ordinary *can*; 7. *rtso* instead of classical *gtso*; 11. *Rephag*, the name of the Trilōknāth temple, means 'high hope.'

No exact date can be given to this inscription; but it may be said for certain that it cannot be more than three centuries old.

TRANSLATION.

1. Hail! The peacock vestments of the gods are of white colour; Perfection is
2. the head ornament of Buddha. Look mercifully on [all] creatures! Reverence to
3. Avalokita! Clothed in purity, he sits on the lotus throne, one face,

[1] The inscription which is cut on a slate slab is here edited from a rubbing and a hand-copy, both prepared by the late Miss J. E. Duncan. Doubtful readings are placed between brackets.

4. six hands, . . . feet . . . . . Reverence to the image of the august [Avalokita] which arose of itself,[1]

5. and which draws upwards to heaven the six kinds of creatures[2] which are still performing the circuit [of transmigration].—To the victorious Vajravarāhī,[3]

6. the august great mother, the conqueress of the three times, of fierce form, to the lady

7. who gives two-fold relief to all the dull, solitary, and insane, be reverence and praise!

8. . . . . as an opportunity for virtue . . . . . .

9. nine thousand *maṇi* (*Oṁ maṇi padme huṁ*) were raised (carved) on unchangeable stone. Well, besides these,

10. at the august Re-phag (Trilōknāth), and at Mar-skul, at both . . . . . Maṇi wheel . . . . . .

11. . . . . raised. At the monastery of Mar-skul, a new monastery was raised (or 'was raised anew,' renovated).

12. May all beings obtain Buddhahood quickly through this virtue!

13. Hail!

APPENDIX IV.

SUPPOSED COIN OF ĀSAṬA OF CHAMBĀ.

Mr. V. A. Smith[4] has advanced the hypothesis that a rare silver coin of a debased bull-and-horseman type might be ascribed to Āsaṭa, the chief of Campā.

Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., has favoured me with the following note on the subject: "My suggestion is that for *Āsaṭa* we should read *Amṛta*, and I would assign it to the Amṛta-pāla of the inscription[5] found near Budaun[6] (Budaun district, United Provinces). Smith's *Catalogue of the Indian Museum*, plate XXVI 6, shows a fair specimen."

"You will see that the first letter is clearly *a* not *ā*. The second letter might be read, at first sight, as *śa* or *ma*. Close examination shows that the right hand perpendicular line is curved at the bottom to the right. If you will compare this coin with No. 20 on the same plate, you will see that there is quite sufficient ground for taking the curve as the vowel *ṛ*. For the symbol just above the quarters of the horse is universally admitted to be *Pṛ*[*thvī*]. I would similarly read *mṛ*."

"Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, says that these coins are rare, and Smith repeats this. As a matter of fact, the coins are fairly common between Meerut and Bareily. I have seen more than one find. One came from Meerut District, and the other from some place in Rohilkhand. Delmerick, who spent a long time at Budaun, said he considered the coins common. It was this circumstance which first led me to connect the coins with the line of rulers referred to in the inscription, and eventually to recognize the letters *mṛ*, hitherto misread *śa*."

"Lastly, Smith does not account for the change from *ṭa* to *ta*, the clear reading on the coin."

"The inscription may reasonably be dated early in the 12th century, which would suit the coins."

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[1] This refers to the belief that the marble image of Trilōknāth is not made with hands but is self-created (Skr. *svayambhū*). Cf. above p. 15.

[2] Gods (*deva*), men (*puruṣa*), demons (*asura*), beasts (*tiryañc*), tantalized spirits (*preta*) and denizens of hell (*naraka*). Cf. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 101.

[3] Here Kālī, the goddess of Markulā.

[4] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta (Oxford, 1906), pp. 244 f. and p. 249, plate XXVI-6.

[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 61 ff.

[6] The correct spelling would be *Badāyūn*.

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